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John Murray.



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LORD LYTTETLTON'S

H I S T O R Y

O F

K I N G H E N R Y II.

V O L. VI.



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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY THE SECOND,
AND OF THE AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED,
IN FIVE BOOKS:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A History of the Revolutions of England

From the Death of EDWARD the Confessor
To the Birth of HENRY the Second:

BY GEORGE LORD LYTTTELTON.
THE SECOND EDITION.

V O L. VI.



L O N D O N,
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall.
M D C C L X X I I I.



ERRATA in BOOK V.

- | Page. | Line. | |
|--------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ 14. | 14. | after <i>empire</i> insert (<i>that of Constantinople</i>). |
| ✓ 41. | 2. | from the bottom, instead of <i>wealthy</i> read <i>wealthy</i> . |
| ✓ 45. | 9. | from the bottom, instead of <i>who</i> read <i>which</i> . |
| ✓ | 2. | from the bottom, instead of <i>fifty</i> read <i>fifty</i> . |
| ✓ 69. | 9. | from the bottom, instead of <i>him</i> read <i>them</i> . |
| ✓ 88. | 11. | instead of <i>Raoul Deole</i> read <i>Raoul de Deole</i> . |
| ✓ 97. | 8. | from the bottom, after <i>expedient</i> insert <i>for himself</i> . |
| ✓ 118. | 5. | instead of <i>too bedivnce</i> read <i>to obedienas</i> . |
| ✓ 181. | 11. | instead of <i>end</i> read <i>send</i> . |
| ✓ 203. | 7. | instead of <i>other</i> read <i>others</i> . |
| ✓ | 11. | before <i>to</i> insert <i>and</i> . |
| ✓ | 12. | after <i>bear</i> leave out <i>with</i> . |
| ✓ 227. | 13. | from the bottom, instead of <i>tha the</i> read <i>that be</i> . |
| ✓ 228. | 12. | from the bottom, instead of <i>ever</i> read <i>even</i> . |
| ✓ 235. | 7. | from the bottom, before <i>see</i> insert <i>be</i> . |
| ✓ 236. | 9. | from the bottom, before <i>political</i> insert <i>a</i> . |
| ✓ 243. | 14. | from the bottom, before <i>trunks</i> put out <i>the</i> . |
| ✓ 270. | 7. | from the bottom, instead of <i>hymn</i> read <i>hymns</i> . |
| ✓ 271. | 6. | after <i>who</i> put out <i>bad</i> . |
| ✓ 276. | 16. | instead of <i>was</i> read <i>were</i> . |
| ✓ 292. | 16. | from the bottom, instead of <i>Grintington</i> read <i>Ge-dington</i> . |
| ✓ 320. | 5. | instead of <i>theun natural</i> read <i>the unnatural</i> . |
| ✓ 327. | 6. | from the bottom, instead of <i>glor ybe</i> read <i>glory be</i> . |
| ✓ 336. | 11. | from the bottom, instead of <i>sterngs</i> read <i>sterlings</i> . |
| ✓ 347. | 2. | before <i>be happy</i> leave out <i>may</i> . |
| ✓ 352. | 8. | from the bottom, instead of <i>Tincetrays</i> read <i>Tincetraye</i> . |
| ✓ 353. | 2. | instead of <i>gave</i> read <i>give</i> . |

False Stop in Book V.

- ✓ 23. 8. after *which* leave out the comma.

Stops omitted in Book V.

- ✓ 156. 3. after *monk* insert a comma.
 ✓ 186. 17. after *Wales* insert a comma.
 ✓ 188. 6. from the bottom, the word *them* should be printed, like the rest of the line, in *italicks*.

E R R A T A

APPENDIX.

Page.	Line.	
✓ 434.	3.	after <i>Florentie</i> insert <i>of</i> .
✓ 437.	10.	instead of <i>sum</i> read <i>cum</i> .
✓ 440.	15.	after <i>præparatis</i> insert a <i>comma</i> .

Marginal References.

✓ 59.	for <i>pais</i> read <i>pars</i> .
✓ 61.	for p. 109. read p. 169.
✓ 178.	for col. 519. read col. 589.
✓ 205.	for 1506 read 1596.
✓ 265.	after <i>Dissert.</i> add 13. 14.
✓ 304.	instead of <i>parle</i> read <i>par le</i> .
✓ 310.	instead of c. 5. read c. 51.



[4]

THE LAST BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

King HENRY the Second.

HOWEVER agreeable it may have BOOK V.
been to the pride of the young king of A. D. 1176.
England, that, in all acts of state with-
in that realm, he was joined with his father,
and whatever advantage he might have derived
from being taught how to govern, by thus
conducting, with him, and according to his
wise instructions, the whole administration of
government there, while they continued to-
gether; yet the being so constantly under the
eyes of that monarch seemed to him a confine-
ment and constraint on his actions, from which
he secretly wished to be set free, Some of
his courtiers, who thought the presence of his
father an impediment to their views of interest

VOL. VI.

B

or

BOOK V.

A. D. 1176.

Benedict.
Abbas.

or ambition, concurred with him in this wish; to compass which he pretended a pious intention of going in pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Henry, penetrating his motives, or apprehending bad consequences from such a separation, withstood his importunity by remonstrances and entreaties; but, when he found him immoveably fixed in his purpose, lest too obstinate a resistance to an act of devotion should be deemed an impiety, or because he was persuaded that his son's peace of mind could not otherwise be restored, he consented to his going, and permitted the young queen to accompany him into France.

While a contrary wind, which lasted several days, detained them at Portsmouth, their brothers, Richard and Geoffry, landed at Southampton, on Good Friday, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, and went the next day to the palace of Winchester, where their father was preparing to celebrate, with his nobles, the Easter festival. Young Henry, leaving Portsmouth, came also thither, to meet them, and to attend the great council, in which foreign affairs, particularly those relating to the territories they held in France, were the principal subject of deliberation, and seemed to require his presence.

Idem ibidem.

The demolition of the castles belonging to the rebels in Aquitaine and Bretagne, which their father had committed to Richard and Geoffry, in the preceding summer, had been executed in Bretagne with little or no opposition;

tion; but in Guienne the strong fort of Chastillon upon Agen had been held out against Richard by Arnaud de Bauville, and stood a siege of two months; after which his further progress was stopt by a league of many powerful lords in the dutchy of Aquitaine, who combined to resist him. He therefore asked his father's aid for the carrying on of a war, to which his own strength was not equal. That monarch, desirous, for many evident reasons, to engage his eldest son, as well as the two younger, in a quarrel of this nature with the factious associates of their late rebellion, prevailed on young Henry to defer the performance of his intended pilgrimage till the peace of Aquitaine should be settled, and to aid his brother Richard in subduing these nobles. For this purpose he appointed a body of troops to be under his command, and giving money to Richard, empowered that prince to make levies of volunteers, not only in his own dutchy, but likewise in all the circumjacent provinces. Thus was raised a great number of mercenary forces, which Richard led, with an ardour, as if he deemed the cause his own, against the rebels in Poitou, and, about Whitsuntide, defeated an army of Brabanters hired by them to oppose him: after which he took a castle belonging to Aymar, the viscount of Limoges, on the frontier of that province, and then, within a few days, the capital itself. From thence he went to Poitiers, soon after the festival of St. John the Baptist, to meet his brother Henry,

Benedict.
Abbas.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1176.

who had loitered at Paris, in the court of his father-in-law, from the end of April till that time. They marched together to besiege a fort in Angoulême, which they took in less than a fortnight; but, this being done, the young king, who was not fond of the service, returned to Poitiers. Richard, nevertheless, continued the war with the same alacrity as before. He quickly made himself master of another castle belonging to the viscount of Angoulême, and thus opened his way to the capital of that province, where the earl himself and his son, with the viscounts of Chabannes, Ventadour, and Limoges, were all shut up. Within the term of six days he compelled them to surrender the town to him, and their persons to the mercy of his royal father. Five other strong places, belonging to the earl of Angoulême, in those parts, were also delivered up, in consequence of the articles of the capitulation concluded with that lord.

Having so gloriously suppressed this insurrection, the victorious duke sent his prisoners to the king, his father, who, much pleased with this instance, both of his filial obedience and military prowess, returned them back to him; but ordered them to be kept in his custody till such time as he himself should come over into France. It seems indeed that the generous nature of Richard was touched with the kindness his father had shewn him in their reconciliation, and sincerely desired to atone for the past by his present and future conduct.

But

But other sentiments began now to prevail again in the mind of his elder brother Henry, or to discover themselves, after having been forcibly kept down and concealed during his stay in Great Britain. For, on his return to Poitiers, he received in his court, and admitted to a close familiarity with him, many French and Norman knights, who had been of his party in the late intestine war, and who, he knew, were particularly odious to his father. Adam de Chirkedun, a chaplain to the archbishop of York, whom that monarch had chosen to serve him as chancellor in the absence of another, appointed to the office, disliking this intimacy, and perhaps suspecting much worse than what really passed among them, wrote a letter to Henry, full of grievous accusations of his young master's conduct, and the wicked designs of these men. By their vigilance it was seized, and brought to that prince. Adam, being apprehended, and examined before him, did not deny that he wrote it, but pleaded the oath of allegiance he had taken, and duty to his sovereign. On this confession the young king assembled his council, and demanded their advice what to do with a traitor, who, being trusted with his secrets, had endeavoured to incense his father against him. The general sentence was (if we believe some historians who wrote in those days) that he ought to be put to death: but the bishop of Poitiers remonstrated to them, without trying to excuse or extenuate the offence,

BOOK V.
A. D. 1176.

Benedict.
Abbas.

fence, that the offender, being a clergyman (though only in deacon's orders), could not be judged by laymen.

The king, after long silence, commanded his officers to lead him out of the court, and whip him through all the streets and alleys of the city, proclaiming him a traitor; after which they were ordered to carry him into Normandy, scourging him in the same manner through every town, in their way to Argenton, where they were to leave him in prison. This arbitrary and cruel sentence was executed upon him with most barbarous rigour; which as soon as King Henry, the father, was informed of, he immediately dispatched four knights of his household, to require of his son, that the prisoner should be sent, without delay, to him. He was sent, but in bonds: nor did Henry set him free, but committed him to the custody of an English abbot, till he himself should determine, with the advice of his council, what ought to be done with him. We neither know what opinion the council gave upon it, nor what became of the prisoner after this time. One should have thought that the king, for whose service he appears to have drawn on himself all this mischief, would not only have freed him as soon as he came over, but have made him amends for the injuries he had suffered, by some honourable promotion. There must certainly have been something, unexplained by the writers who mention this affair, that pre-

vented

vented Henry from acting as he naturally would have done, if the only crime alledged against this man, whom he had placed about his son, had been revealing to him such secrets of his master, as could not be concealed without a violation of the higher duty and fealty, incontestably owing from the servants of that prince to their sovereign and to his! Possibly there might appear in the intercepted letter marks of malice and falshood, which rendered his evidence doubtful. But whatever Henry thought of Adam de Chirkedun, he could not be pleased with the conduct of the young king; and the uneasiness which this caused must have lessened the joy he would otherwise have received from a most desirable match, offered to him, this year, for Jane, his youngest daughter, with William the Second, king of Sicily and of all that is now called the kingdom of Naples.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1176.

This prince was of a family, the exaltation of which, from a private condition to so potent a monarchy, is a very important part of the history of the Normans during the times of which I write. I shall therefore give a short account of the rise and progress of it; as falling in with the general design of this work.

In the year one thousand and thirty-seven, William, Drogon, and Humphrey, sons of Tancred, earl of Hauteville, who, two years before, had come out of Normandy into the service of a Lombard prince of Salerno, with a band of three hundred men at arms, went

B 4

from

V. Giannone
Hist. di Na-
poli, t. i.
Baronii An-
nal. & Hist.
Bysantin.
Ann. Com-
nen. & Ni-
cetas.

BOOK V. from thence, at the head of these valiant adventurers, into the pay of Manasses, a general of the Greek emperor, Michael the Paphlagonian, sent by that prince to attempt the recovering of Sicily out of the hands of the Saracens, by whom it then was possessed. With their help, and by their extraordinary valour, this commander took Messina, besieged Syracuse, and defeated an army of Saracens under the walls of that city: but ill usage, which the Normans were unaccustomed to bear without revenge, made them enemies to the Greeks; and, having found a pretence to return into Italy with a passport from Manasses, they persuaded their countryman, the count of Averfa, to join his forces with theirs, and subdue all Apulia, which the Greeks employed in Sicily had left destitute of troops. Averfa was a city built on a territory about eight miles from Naples, which had been granted to Rainolf, the chief of a former band of Norman adventurers, for services done to Sergius, duke of Naples. In consequence of this league, and after many brave actions, like those which the books of chivalry recount of their fabulous knights, William de Hauteville, the eldest son of Earl Tancred, was declared, in the year one thousand and forty-three, earl, or count, of Apulia, without any dependance, either on the Greek emperor, or on the German, though the sovereignty of that province was claimed by both. He died in the year one thousand and forty-six, and was succeeded in his

new-

new-acquired dominion by Drogon, his next brother. Soon after this event, the emperor Henry the Second coming into those parts with a formidable army, Drogon sought his protection, and accepted from him the investiture of his country. But the Greek emperor, informed of this combination between the Normans and Germans to usurp his rights, and unable to resist it by force of arms, sent great offers to Drogon, and other chiefs of the Normans, if, leaving Italy, they would go and serve him in Asia against the king of Persia. But his minister, not succeeding in the negotiation with them, used the money and rich presents, brought over for them, in bribing the inhabitants of the cities they governed to massacre them all. The first victim to this base conspiracy was Earl Drogon; and more Normans were murdered in different parts of Apulia than had fallen during all their warfare in that country. But a small body of them, under the conduct of Humphrey, a younger brother to Drogon, overcame these assassins, and recovered the whole province, the government of which Humphrey took, and severely revenged his brother's death. His forces being repaired by recruits out of Normandy, and by a number of Frenchmen, who, returning from pilgrimages made to the holy land, often passed through his towns, he endeavoured to conquer Calabria from the Greeks, as well as Apulia; which alarming the jealousy of the court of Rome, Pope Leo the Ninth obtained from

from the German emperor, Henry the Second, to whom he was a near kinsman; some auxiliary troops, and, raising others in Italy, formed a great army, which he himself led in person to exterminate the Normans. They sued for peace on condition of defending the territories of the see of Rome against all other powers; but their offers were refused, and a battle was fought in the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-three, which they won against numbers much superior to theirs, and took the pope himself captive. He expected the worst usage from conquerors so provoked by extreme hostilities on his part, and who had been falsely represented to him as cruel barbarians, without piety, without mercy; but they treated him with great kindness, paying him all the veneration which their religion supposed to be due to the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth. This induced him, not only to authorise their possession of the conquests they had made, but to encourage them to proceed in extending their limits to the prejudice of their neighbours. Yet after his death, which soon followed this agreement, the two succeeding popes, apprehensive of their power, formed projects against them; but while these were caballing, the conquest of Calabria was successfully prosecuted by the brave Robert Guiscard, another son of Earl Tancred, who, before Drogon's decease, had come into Apulia, and to whose valour the victory over Pope Leo had principally been owing. Humphrey died in the
year

year one thousand and fifty-six, on which event Robert Guiscard took the government of all his brother's dominions, not as guardian to the eldest of two infant sons, left to his care by that lord, but pursuant to a compact he had made with his brother concerning the succession. Three years afterwards, having gained possession of Reggio, the capital of Calabria, he assumed the title of *Duke of Apulia and Calabria*, with the consent of his vassals. BOOK V.

About the same time, the principality of Capua was conquered from the Lombards by Richard, count of Aversa. Pope Nicholas the Second was very uneasy at the rapid encrease of the greatness of the Normans in the neighbourhood of the ecclesiastical state. Pretending, therefore, that Troja, a city built by the Greeks in the year one thousand and twelve, which Robert lately had taken, belonged to the territory of the see of Rome, he determined the cause, not by evidences or arguments to prove his claim, but by lancing the thunders of excommunication against the adverse party. In that age, the greatest princes stood in awe of those thunders; and Robert feared them the more, on account of the pretensions (whether well or ill founded) of his brother Humphrey's eldest son, which had lately been abetted by many of his subjects. He, therefore, agreed to hold Troja, and all his dominions, in vassalage to the pope, and by the payment of a moderate annual tribute: for which Nicholas gave

gave him, in perpetual fee, not only the dutchies of Apulia and Calabria, but (what is still more extraordinary) the kingdom of Sicily, which neither of them possessed. In the oath to his new lord, Robert stiled himself, *duke of Apulia and Calabria by the grace of God and St. Peter, and, with the assistance of both, future king of Sicily*. The pontiff in reality parted with nothing; but gained to his see, by this grant, some encrease of revenue, a strong guard of brave soldiers, and the sovereignty of countries belonging to the emperors of Constantinople, who denied the supremacy of the bishops of Rome. The principality of Capua was likewise confirmed to Richard, count of Averla, on condition of fealty to the apostolic see, though the Lombard princes, from whom it had been taken unjustly, never had held it as vassals under that see, but had acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperors of Germany, successors to Charlemagne. Yet, notwithstanding the defect of right in the donor, the investitures granted by the pope to these Normans were of great use to them; for they drew upon any prince who should dare to molest them in these possessions, now *sacred*, the spiritual censures of Rome, not less feared by the ignorant bigotry of those times from their being undeserved.

V. authores
citatos ut
suprà.

Robert Guiscard, thus supported by the authority of the church, invaded Sicily in conjunction with his younger brother, Roger, another of the twelve sons of Tancred de Hauteville, whose

whose two marriages had produced a race of heroes. The Saracens in that island had recovered Messina from the Greeks: but a war of twelve years, made on them now by the Normans, far braver than the Greeks, so broke their force, that, on condition of enjoying what was not denied to them, a free and public exercise of their religion, they submitted quietly to the government of Roger de Hauteville, who received from Duke Robert the investiture of Sicily with the title of count, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy-two.

While this conquest was making, other enterprises, in Italy, had, at different times, employed the arms of the duke, and called him thither in person, particularly the sieges of Otranto and Bari, both which cities he took. That of Amalphi and the great principality of Salerno were also gained by him from Gisolfo the Second, a prince of Lombard extraction, who, being forced to take refuge in the ecclesiastical state, drew on Gregory the Seventh, his friend and protector, the enmity of the Normans; but this quarrel was made up by that pontiff's concluding an agreement with Robert, to share between them all the territories of Pandolph the Sixth, the last prince of Beneventum, lately deceased without heirs; Gregory taking the city, to which he had some title, and leaving the principality in the hands of the duke, who had only that of conquest.

It was happy for the pope that concord with Robert was thus renewed and cemented! for, before the end of seven years, being closely besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the emperor Henry the Fourth, he would certainly have fallen into his enemy's hands, if he had not been succoured by his vassal the duke, who forced Henry to retire with all his troops out of Rome.

The danger that the imperial power of the Germans should be re-established in Italy, to the prejudice of the Normans, having thus been removed, Robert returned to a war against another empire, which the exigence above-mentioned had obliged him to quit, in the year one thousand and eighty-four, when great victories gained, and conquests made on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria, gave him reasonable hopes that the throne itself of the emperor Alexius Comnenus might be the prize of his valour. Even during his absence, the glory of his arms had been carried still higher by his eldest son Boamond, to whom he had left, on his sudden departure, the chief command of his forces. But the desertion of several barons of France, joint-adventurers with these princes, whom want of money to pay the bands they led, and large offers made to them on the part of Alexius, seduced to his service, occasioned the loss of almost all that the father and the son had acquired. To repair this misfortune, Robert drew to his standard all the chivalry of Italy; and in passing the Adriatic gulph,

*that of
Constantinople*

gulf, overcame the Venetians, whose fleet, in confederacy with that of Alexius, attacked him there: but, soon after this victory, he died of a fever.

BOOK V.

William of Malmſbury tells us, that William the Conqueror animated and roused his own courage by calling to mind the actions of this prince, and used to say, "*It would be a shame to him, if one who in nobility was his inferior should excel him in valour.*" From this, and other passages in contemporary writers, it seems that the pedigree of the family of Hauteville from the first dukes of Normandy, though maintained by Giannone, and other modern historians, was unknown in those days.

L. iii. de Wilhelm. 1^{mo}.

On the decease of Duke Robert, in the year one thousand and eighty-five, Roger, his son by a daughter of the prince of Salerno, succeeded to him in all his Italian dominions; and the count of Sicily, Robert's brother, reigned over that island, as an independant state. The only portion left to Boamond by his father was a remnant of the conquests he had won from the Greeks: but he claimed to inherit Apulia and Calabria by right of primogeniture. His illegitimacy indeed was a bar to that claim; his father having been divorced from his mother on account of near kindred: yet the customs of the Normans, not unfavourable to bastards, might have removed that objection, if the count of Sicily had not declared for Roger, which added so much force to the friendly

V. authores citatos ut suprà.

BOOK V.

friendly intercessions of Pope Urban the Second, that Boamond was persuaded to accept of two cities in lieu of all his demands. The concord of the family was thus so well restored, that in the year one thousand and ninety-six, Amalphi having rebelled against the duke, Boamond served him in person, and his uncle brought a great army, in which were twenty thousand Saracens, out of Sicily, to his aid. But while these confederates were besieging Amalphi, the first crusade was set on foot; and Urban the Second exhorting all the soldiery of Europe to enlist themselves in that service, the cross was taken by Boamond and his nephew Tancred, who went from thence together into Asia, where they both performed great exploits, and where Boamond gained the principality of Antioch, a noble acquisition, which he kept till his death, and left to his descendants. The enthusiasm of the holy war having also drawn away many more of the forces that beleaguered Amalphi, the town was delivered, by this fortunate incident, beyond all hope, and remained some years independant. But amends was made for this loss to the family of Hauteville, in Italy, by their acquiring a sovereignty over Capua, from which city the inhabitants had lately driven out Richard count of Aversa, who, being restored by the aid of the count of Sicily and his nephew, did homage for it to both.

V. authores
citatos ut
suprà.

In the year eleven hundred and one, the count of Sicily, who had taken the title of

great

great count, died, and left to the care of Adelaide, his wife, and Robert of Burgundy, his son-in-law, the government of that island during the infancy of his son. Ten years afterwards, the two dutchies of Apulia and Calabria, by the decease of Duke Roger, descended quietly, with all their dependances, to his son, Prince William de Hauteville, who did nothing very memorable, and died without issue, in the year eleven hundred and twenty-seven. The branch of Robert Guiscard being extinct in him, his cousin Roger, count of Sicily, immediately, on the first intelligence of his death, passing over to Salerno with seven ships of war, took possession of that city, and of all his other dominions. The haste he made to do this, without waiting for any investiture from the pope, or even asking his leave, gave great umbrage and offence to Honorius the Second, whose anger he vainly endeavoured to appease by the offer of two cities, and of holding the rest under fealty to his see. The policy of Rome not desiring so potent a vassal, the pontiff would hear of no terms; but, pretending that the late duke, by a supposed will and testament, which was never produced, had left all his dominions and possessions to *St. Peter*, used the utmost force of his spiritual and temporal arms, assisted by those of the princes of Capua and Bari, whom he had drawn to his party, for the support of that claim. Yet, all proving too weak, he soon gave the two dutchies of Apulia and Calabria

to be held by this prince as his predecessors had held them under former pontiffs. The dutchy of Amalphi, which had also submitted to Roger, was not included in this grant, nor the principality of Salerno; because the see of Rome had some pretensions to them, which the Roman pontiffs would not expressly give up, though unable to maintain or prove their right. But Roger possessed them undisturbed, and, on the decease of Honorius, in the year eleven hundred and thirty, obtained, in return for acknowledging Anaclet the Second as pope, a bull from that pontiff, which added to the territories, Honorius had granted, the principality of Capua, and the dutchy of Naples. Robert, prince of Capua, had declared for the anti-pope, Innocent; and, as he was a feudatory of the see of Rome, Anaclet, thinking him guilty of an act of high treason, gave the fief he had forfeited in consequence of that act to his own adherent, Roger; but on what grounds or shew of right he likewise granted him Naples, which belonged to the Greek empire, and had never been bound by any homage or fealty to the see of Rome, it is difficult to discover. The name of king, which alone seemed wanting to gratify this prince's ambition, was also given by this bull; the Roman pontiffs now arrogating to themselves that power of constituting kingdoms, which the German emperors claimed as a special prerogative, annexed to their dignity. Anaclet granted to Roger, his heirs, and successors, *the crown*
of

of the realm of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and the other provinces before-mentioned, to be held of the see of Rome by an annual tribute of six hundred *schifati*, a golden coin of those days: and the bull having declared that Sicily should be deemed *the head of the kingdom*, he was crowned at Palermo, by the hand of a legate. In the year eleven hundred and thirty-five, he drove the prince of Capua out of his principality, and put it under the government of one of his own sons, who held it in fee. He likewise attacked Naples; but while he was employed in besieging that city, Lotharius the Second, whom Innocent had crowned emperor of the West at Rome, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-three, being called by that pontiff, returned into Italy in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six, and, with the help of the Pisans, not only constrained the new-made king of Sicily to raise his siege, but took from him almost all his Italian dominions; which, nevertheless, he recovered, on the retreat of the emperor into Germany, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-eight, during the course of which both that prince and Anaclet died. The next summer Pope Innocent, now fixed in his see without any competitor, led an army in person against a fort in Apulia, belonging to Roger, whom he had excommunicated; and, in retiring from thence, on the approach of that king, fell into an ambush, and was brought captive to him, as Leo the Ninth had been to

BOOK V. Humphrey de Hauteville. In using his prisoner well, but yet making him pay the purchase of his freedom by proper concessions, this monarch wisely followed the example of

V. Baronium, Humphrey; and thereby obtained a bull, ad ann. 1139. which, taking no notice of what had been done by Anaclet, declared that, whereas Robert Guiscard and his brother, the father of this Roger, had driven the Saracens out of Sicily and Italy; and forasmuch as, by the testimony of ancient histories, it appears, that, in former times, Sicily had been a kingdom, the pope granted to this prince, *with the fullness of the royal dignity*, and confirmed to him *by the apostolic authority*, the possession of that kingdom, and the dominions in Italy with which he had been invested by Honorius the Second, adding to them the city and principality of Capua, from which Robert, to whom, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six, the German emperor had restored them, had been lately expelled a second time by Roger. It is also express in the bull, that the motive for the grant of these last territories was, *that the king, by this gift, might be strongly bound to the love and obedience of St. Peter, and of his successors in the see of Rome*. Supposing this a good reason for taking from one prince his hereditary dominions, and giving them to another (which would be a monstrous supposition) it should have still been considered, that he from whom the principality of Capua was taken, *by the apostolic authority*, had lost it twice on account

account of his attachment to the cause of that very pope who made the grant. Such was the good fortune of the family of Hauteville, that, whether they enjoyed the friendship of the popes, or were at enmity with them, it equally turned to their profit: but those prelates may be said to have been yet more fortunate; their ambition being served, and their usurpations secured, by the valour of these Normans, to whom they gave nothing to purchase their assistance, or recover their friendship after any quarrel with them, but what was not their own; obtaining, at the same time, the sovereignty of countries to which they had no title, and an annual tribute in acknowledgement of it, from these voluntary vassals. The six hundred *schifati*, which had been promised to Anaclet, in return for his concessions, were now promised to Innocent and his successors in his see, canonically elected; and Roger swore to assist them, whenever his help should be wanted, and faithfully to maintain *the royalties of St. Peter*. No mention is made of the dutchy of Naples in this bull, though the grant of it had been specified in that of Honorius; but, soon after this time, Duke Sergius, who had bravely defended the city against Roger, being dead, and no hope of resistance remaining, the citizens delivered it up to that monarch, who held it (as he did Salerno, Amalphi, and some other places, not mentioned in this or former grants) either independantly, and by right of conquest; or (which

I rather believe) as generally comprised in the body of the kingdom, for which he was a homager to the see of Rome. The city of Beneventum, which, in the course of the war, had been taken from that see, was now restored to it; but the principality was retained; and the king of Sicily possessed; together with that island, all those provinces which compose the present kingdom of Naples.

V. authores
citatos ut
supra,

His dominions being full of excellent sea-ports, and of a people addicted to navigation and trade, he formed a great naval force, which gave him the empire of the Mediterranean sea, and, securing to his subjects a most extensive commerce, made his kingdom the richest in the Christian world at that time. War itself was to him a source of wealth. His fleets and armies compelled the king of Tripoli, in Afric, to pay him tribute, took many other cities on the African coast, and, ravaging all the maritime countries of Greece, brought from thence into Sicily and his other dominions, besides immense plunder, a great number of artificers in the silk manufactures, who taught his people their art. One of the last of his conquests was the island of Malta, which the Saracens yielded to him about three years before his death. He died in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three, leaving to William, his son, all his dignities and possessions, hereditary or acquired.

V. authores
citatos ut
supra.

This prince, having been associated to the government in the life-time of his father, and crowned

crowned king, without any opposition from Rome, made no scruple of repeating that ceremony now without staying to obtain the pope's consent; at which Adrian the Fourth took such offence, that he excommunicated his person, declared him a rebel against St. Peter, and absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. A great rebellion ensued, which, while the pontiff was busily endeavouring to foment at Beneventum, he received a splendid embassy from Manuel Comnenus, who offered largely to assist him with money and forces in this war against William, on condition that three maritime cities of Apulia should, when taken from that prince, be restored to the empire of Constantinople. The proposal was accepted, and Adrian wrote a letter to Frederick Barbarossa, whom Manuel had drawn to this league, strongly pressing him to join his troops with theirs, against the enemy of both empires: which that prince agreed to do, but was stopt by a sickness breaking out in his army, and a revolt of the Lombards. Yet, without aid from him, the Greeks, the pope, and the rebels, confederated together, had such good success, that there remained in all Italy only the cities of Salerno, Amalphi, and Naples obedient to William. The greatness of the danger, and the obstinacy of Adrian in rejecting advantageous offers of peace, roused that king, who, ever since his accession to the throne, had lived, like an Eastern sultan, shut up from his subjects within the walls of his palace, and committing all business to the care

of his favourite, Maione de Bari. Exerting now all the courage which nature had given to him, he put himself at the head of an army of veterans, formed under the discipline of his royal father, who, landing with him at Salerno, defeated the Greek army, took their generals prisoners, recovered all the cities of Apulia and Calabria, and forced the pope, whom they closely besieged in Beneventum, not only to renew and confirm to their prince all the grants of former pontiffs, but to add the investitures, denied hitherto, of Salerno and Amalphi, with all their dependancies, and of the march of Ancona; for which last acquisition an additional tribute of five hundred *sc bifati* was to be paid to the apostolic see. This agreement, which was made in the year eleven hundred and fifty-six, contained also some privileges which gave to the kings of Sicily a kind of ecclesiastical supremacy in their realm. No terms were obtained for the safety of those barons who had rebelled against William, and were in the town with the pope. Being all delivered up to the mercy of that king, they were sacrificed to his vengeance; as was likewise Robert, prince of Capua, who during this revolt, had regained his principality, but lost it now with his life, which he ended miserably in prison, after his eyes had been put out. He was the last of the Norman counts of Averfa, who had drawn into Italy the family of Hauteville, had for some time been assistant to their power in that country, and

and were at last destroyed by it, attempting to overthrow it in the full maturity of its strength. BOOK V.

The next year, William's general having won a signal victory, on the coast of the Morea, over the Greeks, Mañuel Comnenus was forced to sue for peace; and, to obtain it, consented (which he never would do before) to acknowledge William as king of Sicily: nor, after this time, did he, or his successors, ever disturb the possession the family of Hauteville had gained in any of these countries, to which the Greek empire had an undeniable right. V. authores citatos ut supra.

All these happy events would have secured to the king a lasting tranquillity, if the immoderate power which he gave to his favourite had not excited new troubles. Even the death of that lord, assassinated by Bonello, a great baron of the realm, did not end these disorders; the fear of vengeance from his friends, who were powerful in the court, forcing Bonello, and others, who had abetted the murder, to try to place William's son, a child about nine years old, on the throne of his father. This design was approved by many of the barons, whom the tyranny of the king had offended; and even by some of his own near relations, whom private injuries had made his enemies. The conspirators seized his person, and shut him up in a prison: yet he was freed, after three or four days of confinement, by the people of Palermo. His son, at the first attempt

tempt of the rebels to break into the palace, looking out of a window, was wounded by an arrow, but would have recovered of that hurt, if the tyrant, in his fury, had not given him a violent kick on the stomach, of which he died. To this horrid act of rage the blackest melancholy succeeded in the mind of the father, which withdrew him more than ever from the government of his kingdom; and a grievous abuse of the regal power, in the hands to which he gave it, produced more insurrections. Yet he reigned till the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, when a natural death put an end to many calamities, which his insatiable avarice, and an equal excess of indulgence to his friends and cruelty to his enemies, had brought on his subjects. These vices fixed upon him the opprobrious appellation of *William the Bad*. On the contrary, William his second son and successor, by the lenity of his government, accompanied with a strict administration of justice, obtained from the gratitude and affection of his people the surname of *the Good*. His many personal virtues, and the flourishing state of his kingdom, as soon as he came to an age mature for marriage, induced the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, to send an embassy to him, with the offer of his daughter, who, being at that time his only child, was the presumptive heiress to the empire. But, some difficulties arising in the treaty of alliance, the emperor changed his mind, or (as other authors say)

the king rejected the match, because it was not agreeable to the pope. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, the daughter of another emperor was offered to him by her father; a plenipotentiary being sent into Sicily, for that purpose from Frederick Barbarossa, who was then making war, and not unsuccessfully, in the March of Ancona, but wished to obtain the king of Sicily's friendship by means of this alliance. That monarch refused it, as repugnant to the engagements by which he was bound to Alexander the Third, whom he had acknowledged as pope, and supported with much zeal. In revenge of this refusal, the emperor sent an army to invade Apulia; but a battle which he lost against the people of Milan compelled him to recall it, and frustrated his intention of going thither himself at the head of all his forces. William, freed from the danger of so formidable a war, determined to marry. The pope, with whom he consulted on the choice of a wife, advised him to ask the princess Jane Plantagenet of King Henry her father. It has been mentioned before, that an offer of this match had been made in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, by Henry to William, and that the proposal had been received with joy: but, as the princess was then much too young to be married, the parties were not tied by any absolute contract. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, Henry notified to William, as one of his friends, the rebellion of his sons,

and

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1173.

and sued for succour against them; to which: an answer was returned, declaring in strong terms a just detestation of their unnatural conduct, and good wishes to their father; but William pleaded the distance of his territories from Henry's as not permitting him to give that king any aid. Yet he certainly might have sent him a subsidy of money, if he had been so inclined: but, in truth, no political reasons induced him to meddle in this quarrel; and moral sentiments alone have rarely so much force in the deliberations of princes, as to carry them beyond the line of their interests, even in cases where naturally one should think they would make a common cause. This Henry well knew, and therefore, though he left no means of procuring assistance untried, he felt no resentment at not obtaining it here, nor, probably, much disappointment. It was some advantage to him, that the cause of his enemies was condemned by a monarch, whose opinion the pope, having need of his protection, was obliged to respect. We have grounds to believe that the bishop of Syracuse, who was an Englishman transplanted into Sicily, where he had gained a great share in the general administration of government under the two Williams, helped greatly to infuse into the mind of the latter good dispositions towards Henry, his natural sovereign, and also to forward this match. For it appears, he kept up a very friendly correspondence with Peter of Blois, that monarch's secretary, who had been

been authorised to assure him of the royal protection and favour of his master, if any revolution in the court of Sicily, or any disgust, should incline him to return from thence into England; and the first proposal of this match, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, had passed through his hands. But, however agreeable the alliance was to Henry, he would not conclude it without consulting his parliament, which, for this purpose, was called, to meet him at London. Their approbation being given, Count Florio Camerota, grand justiciary of Sicily, and two Italian prelates, ambassadors from William, with the archbishop of Rouen, who, as nearly related to the family of Hauteville, had attended them on this business from Normandy into England, were sent by Henry to see the princess, his daughter, in the palace of Winchester. They returned from thence greatly pleased with the beauty of her person and accomplishments of her mind, which exceeded the report that had been made to William, though what he had heard of them was one of the motives that inclined him to chuse her for his queen. But the marriage was not celebrated till the next year, the princess being, even then, under thirteen years old. What portion Henry gave her we are not told: but a most ample dower was settled upon her by William, besides very rich presents which he sent to her father on the notification of his consent to the match,

BOOK V,

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1176.
Diceto.
Ibidem.V. Dicet. ad
ann. 1165.Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1177.Ibidem, ad
ann. 1176.

BOOK V. and which were unfortunately lost in the voyage, with two Sicilian gallies.

A. D. 1176. Eleanor, Henry's second daughter, who had long been betrothed to Alphonso king of Castile, was also given to her husband during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-six; and a match was settled for John, the youngest son of Henry, with Isabella, the youngest daughter of William earl of Gloucester, who, having no issue male, agreed to leave her his earldom, with all his lands undivided, on condition that the king should give to each of her sisters, who were married to the earls of Evereux and Clare, a yearly revenue of one hundred pounds in England, equivalent to an income of fifteen hundred at this time. But both parties were yet infants; and the relation between them made it necessary to get a dispensation from Rome, before they could be solemnly espoused to each other.

While the alliance with the king of Sicily was concluding, Henry received news from Ireland, which obliged him to attend with particular care to his affairs in that country. About the end of May in this year eleven hundred and seventy-six, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, died at Dublin of a cancerous sore in his leg, leaving by Eva his wife, the daughter of Dermod Mac Morrogh king of Leinster, a son and a daughter, both infants. His sister Basilea, who attended upon him at the

Girald. Cambrensis. Hist. Brit. Expugnatio. l. ii. c. 14.
Irish Annals MSS.

the time of his death, sent immediate notice of it, as secretly as she could, to Raymond Fitzgerald, her husband, who then was in Desmond, at the head of her brother's English troops; but she prudently kept it from the knowledge of all others till he should return to her, which she pressed him to do without delay. On the receipt of her letter he marched back to Limerick, where part of his army had been left, and communicating the intelligence to a few of the officers under his command, consulted with them what measures it was proper to take on this event. They unanimously determined that his chief care ought to be the securing of Leinster and the towns on the sea-coast; to which end it was necessary to lead all the English forces that were under his banner into those places, abandoning Limerick, which its distance, and exposed situation in the neighbourhood of those Irish who were either unsubdued or prone to revolt, would render untenable in the present conjuncture. Raymond felt much reluctance thus to give up a conquest, made and preserved with great peril, and from which he derived his highest reputation: yet, none of his officers caring to undertake the defence of it during his absence, he delivered up the city to Donald O'Brian, as one of the king's barons, taking from him a new oath of fealty to that monarch, and hostages to secure the faith he had plighted. But, notwithstanding these pledges, the English troops had no sooner passed the bridge, than they

BOOK V.
A. D. 1176.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. ut
suprà.

BOOK V. they saw the other end of it broken down by the Irish, and fire set to all the four quarters of the city, which had been fenced with strong walls, adorned with many handsome buildings, and filled with an immense magazine of provisions brought into it by Raymond.

The cause of this was a fixed opinion in the Irish, that walled towns and forts were dangerous to their freedom, and that to them it would always be more advantageous to destroy than possess them.

When Henry heard what had happened with relation to Limerick, he said, *that great courage had been shewn in taking it, and in succouring it greater; but wisdom only in quitting it*: a judgement formed on good grounds, as things were circumstanced at that time.

On Raymond's arrival at Dublin, the dead earl was interred in the cathedral of that city, and the two English noblemen, whom the king had commissioned to advise and assist him in the government of Ireland, returned to that prince, leaving Raymond entrusted with all the power of the state till the sovereign's will should be known. When they had made their report, Henry sent into Ireland William Fitz-Al-delm, his sewer, as his deputy or lieutenant, attended by ten knights, who were of his household. John de Curci, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, were likewise commanded to go over with this baron, and
to

to be under his orders, having, each of them, a band of ten knights of the household. Raymond came, with all marks of due respect for the deputy, to meet him at his landing and deliver to him the keys of all the Irish towns possessed by the English, with the hostages of the princes or chieftains of Ireland committed to his keeping. But the jealousy which that lord had conceived of the power of the Geraldine family was not removed by this act of reverence and submission. For, when he saw Raymond coming, at the head of a very fine body of cavalry, wherein he remarked thirty knights, all of Raymond's own kindred, bearing the same coat of arms emblazoned in their shields, and riding beautiful horses, which they managed with admirable grace and dexterity, he said in a low voice to some of his attendants, *I will quickly check this pride, and disperse those shields.* Such a connexion of men so excelling in valour, and so attached to each other by the bonds of consanguinity, under a chief so ambitious and enterprizing as Raymond, required indeed some controul: but the services they had done demanded great regard from the ministers of the king, and from the king himself.

Presently after this meeting on the confines of Wexford the deputy went to Dublin, on the state of which city it will be necessary here to make some observations. I have mentioned before, that, when the forces of Earl Strongbow took it by storm, in the year eleven hun-

dred and seventy, a great slaughter was made of the Ostmen dwelling in it, and that many of the most considerable citizens, throwing themselves into ships which lay in the harbour, escaped to the Orkney isles. The town therefore was left very destitute of inhabitants; to repair which loss (as it seems) and also to secure the possession of the place more effectually to himself, Henry, whilst he was there, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, granted a charter to the citizens of Bristol, whereby he gave them Dublin to inhabit and to hold of him in chief, with the same liberties and free customs as they enjoyed at Bristol. This charter is preserved in the archives of Dublin, from whence I have transcribed it into the Appendix belonging to this book. I do not understand by it that all the Ostmen remaining within the walls of that city were to be now driven out, and the citizens of Bristol brought in, but that a colony out of Bristol was invited to come and fill the empty houses, of which there must have been a large number: The reason, which induced the king to make choice of the Bristol men for this purpose, was the interest they had in the commerce of Dublin, much diminished on account of the present desolation, and a probability that, by means of their frequent correspondence and intercourse with the Ostmen, they would more easily mix and incorporate with those continuing there, than any other English.

The next year, another charter was given by Henry to the citizens of Dublin, wherein he styles them *his burgesſes*, and grants to them, *as ſuch*, a privilege of free trade in all parts of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland, forbidding any man to diſturb them in the full enjoyment thereof, under a penalty of ten pounds. A tranſcript of this alſo is in the Appendix. Whether any, or what number, of the Briſtol men had come over on the former invitation, does not appear from this record, nor from any other evidence which I can diſcover. Mention is made of the Oſtmen of Dublin by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in relating the tranſactions of the year eleven hundred and ſeventy-three; but (which is very ſurprizing) in the chronicles of thoſe times no notice is taken of any colony out of Briſtol having ſettled in that town. Perhaps they migrated gradually, at different periods, and not many together. But, if the town was re-peopled, during the courſe of this reign, by ſuch a plantation, the wiſdom of the meaſure deſerves no little praiſe, as it ſtrengthened very much the Engliſh power in Ireland without offence to the Iriſh.

In this year eleven hundred and ſeventy ſix, many caſtles belonging to the nobles of England, who had been the moſt criminal authors and abettors of the late rebellion in that kingdom, were levelled to the ground. Nor did Henry only take from theſe ſuſpected lords the power of doing more harm, but,

with the advice and consent of a parliament convened at Windsor about the feast of St. Michael, removed the garrisons of all the barons of England from the castles they held, and committed them to the guard of his own household troops, or others appointed by him; not excepting the castle of Richard de Lucy himself. The same measures were pursued in Normandy also, notwithstanding the loyalty which the nobles of that dutchy had so eminently shewn during the late civil war. All this indicates an extraordinary apprehension of danger, which probably sprung from the intelligence given of young Henry's cabals by Adam de Chirckedon, and the subsequent conduct of that prince.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

From Windsor, soon after the rising of parliament, the English monarch went northwards, to meet the king of Scotland, who brought to him Gilbert, the chieftain of Galloway, whom he had lately subdued. Henry now was prevailed on to give that prince a pardon, denied to him before, for the murder of Uchtred, his brother. If political necessity (the excuse of many bad actions) did not compel this agreement, it can hardly be justified; but, there might be no other means effectually to restore the tranquillity of that country, which, lying upon the borders of England and Scotland, and being full of a people the most savage in all Britain, would, if unsettled and hostile, have been a grievous annoyance both to the English and the Scots, at a time when

when other troubles were suspected to be rising. The justice of Henry might, therefore, on this occasion give way to the safety of the state. Certain it is, that by making a friend of this prince, he rendered it much more difficult for the king of Scotland to shake off the sovereignty of England; Galloway being a barrier between the two countries, which the Scots could not pass, to invade the English border, without Gilbert's permission. And nothing could be more pleasing to the three northern counties, than to see those bad neighbours, who had been used to infest and desolate their whole region in conjunction with the Scots, become their out-guards against them. Gilbert's peace being made, he did homage for Galloway to the king of England, as supremelord of that country, which he was to hold, under him, of the king of Scotland.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1176.

About the feast of St. Hillary, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, a great council was held by Henry at Northampton, in which William de Cahannes set up a new claim, to hold his barony of the king, instead of the earl of Leicester; and that lord, who was known to lie under all the load of royal displeasure, was summoned to answer to this plea. He came; and, having quietly heard the allegations against his right, said, "That although he himself, and his four im-

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1177.

mediate ancestors, had charters and grants of all their lands and possessions, and par-

BOOK V. "ticularly of this barony, from William the
 A. D. 1177. "First and Henry the First, kings of Eng-
 "land; and although the ancestors of Cahannes had held their barony of his, without
 "dispute, from that time, yet he would not
 "plead for that, or for any other right, against
 "the will of the king, but submitted them all
 "to his mercy." This so touched the heart
 of Henry, that he instantly restored to him all
 his lands and tenements, as entire as he had
 held them before the war, except the fortresses
 which had been already demolished, one castle
 in England, which had been found to belong
 to the royal demesne by the inquisition of a
 jury, and another in Normandy, which, being
 a frontier place, he thought it expedient, for
 the security of that dutchy, to retain in his
 own hands. The town and forest of Leicester
 (though these also, by the verdict of a jury
 of the country, had been adjudged to the
 crown) were included in this grant. Thus
 the hopes entertained by William de Cahannes,
 that the resentment of the king against the
 earl would incline him to favour any suit to
 his prejudice, were disappointed, and the clemency
 of that prince towards a capital enemy,
 now repentant and humbled, was generously
 displayed. Whether sentence was given against
 the claim of William we are not told; but
 probably it was, if he did not himself withdraw
 his plea. Henry also restored to the earl of
 Chester all his land, reserving only his castles.

About

About the beginning of March, the king received a letter from his secretary Peter de Blois, which informed him, that ambassadors from Alphonso king of Castile and Sanchez king of Navarre, were come into his kingdom, to lay before him a great and ancient controversy between them, which had cost both parties the lives of many of their subjects, and the ruin of many of their cities. The secretary concluded with returning thanks to God, "*That, as the queen of the south had come from the remotest parts of the earth to bear the wisdom of Solomon, so these very distant kings, in this weighty and difficult cause, did now submit to his judgement.*"

A. D. 1177.

Rymer's

Fœdera,

p. 45.

The fame of his justice must indeed have been very great, to bring this question before him: for, though the king of Castile, *his son-in-law*, might naturally wish to make him the arbiter of it, yet that affinity would have been to the king of Navarre a strong objection against it, and have induced him to chuse a more indifferent judge, if he and his counsellors had not entertained the highest opinion of Henry's incorruptible impartiality in judicial proceedings. And it appears that the offer of referring it to him arose from that prince himself. Many usurpations had been made, at different periods, by force of arms, on both sides; restitution of which, with damages to the value of 100,000 marobotines, (a Spanish or Moorish coin) was demanded by each party. Four castles were put into neutral hands by

Ibidem.

p. 48.

Ibidem,

p. 46, 47.

Ibidem, p. 43

each king, as pledges for their standing to Henry's award in this cause. Advocates were sent to plead for them, and others to hear and to report the judgement. Some historians likewise add, that each king sent a champion to fight for him in the lists, if Henry should chuse to order the controversy to be determined by duel; but there is no mention of this in the record. Henry himself tried the cause in his high court of parliament, which was called for that purpose at Westminster, on the first Sunday in Lent of the year 1177. The pleas on both sides having been put into writing in the Latin language, and delivered in court; and the advocates of each party having been heard thereupon, judgement was given, the next Sunday, to this effect: That, whereas neither party had denied the usurpations alledged by the other to have been forcibly and unjustly made, the king and court decreed, that a full restitution should be made on both sides. And moreover, that for the sake of peace, the king of Castile should pay to his uncle the king of Navarre the annual sum of 3000 marbotines for ten years to come. The reason of this may have been, (though it is not so express in the words of the judgement) that after a truce of ten years, agreed upon by a treaty between the two kings, some castles had been taken from the king of Navarre by the king of Castile: or, perhaps, that the ancestor of the latter of those princes had been the first aggressor; both which

which circumstances appear from the state of the facts, as given in the record. Before the sentence was pronounced, the ambassadors of both kings had pledged themselves by an oath, that, if their masters should not act conformably to it, they would deliver themselves up into Henry's hands and power. Among the witnesses to the judgement are the bishop of Wittern in Galloway, and the three Welsh bishops of St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor. At the end of the names of the spiritual and temporal barons, subscribing thereto, are these words, *et aliis quam pluribus, tam clericis quam laicis, de regno Angliæ.* Rymer, p. 49.

Ibidem,
p. 50.

While Henry was thus administering justice to foreign potentates, a brother of Earl Ferrars was privily murdered, by night, within the walls of London. The murderers were unknown; so that the king could not take the vengeance he desired for this gentleman's blood, on those by whose hands it had been shed; but he happened to have in his power another criminal, by whose punishment he secured the future peace of his capital against such crimes, which were become common there. For, during the disorders of the late intestine wars, the whole government of the kingdom being relaxed, it was grown into a custom for companies of a hundred or more young men, sons or relations of the principal citizens of London, to sally forth in the night, and plunder the houses of other weathy people, assaulting and killing those whom they met in their way; Benedict. Abbas, p. 196, 197.

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which

which spread such a terror through the town, that few persons dared to go out of their houses after it was dark. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, one of these riotous bands beset the house of a wealthy citizen, whose name is not mentioned: but he, having happily received some intelligence of their design, armed himself, and his servants, and a company of his friends, with whom he waited their coming. They broke into the house, led by one Andrew Buquinte, who, seeing the master advancing to resist him, struck at his breast with a knife, but could not pierce the corselet with which it was covered. The master instantly drew his sword, and cut off Buquinte's hand, at the same time loudly calling on his friends for aid. The other rioters fled; but the wounded man was seized, and delivered up the next morning to Richard de Lucy, justiciary of the realm, who committed him to prison. For a pardon he was brought to impeach his accomplices, of whom many were taken, and among them one John Senex, a citizen of the first rank, and of great wealth. He was tried by the water ordeal, and failing to clear himself lay under sentence of death till the king should have leisure to determine about him, which it seems he had not till this time. Five hundred marks, equivalent to five thousand pounds in these days, were offered for his life; but Henry ordered that judgement should be executed upon him, and he was hanged. What was done with the other prisoners,

prisoners, we are not told: but henceforwards BOOK V.
 no more riots were heard of in the city during A. D. 1177.
 the course of this reign.

A little before Easter, in this year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, while Henry was at Reading, where he had proposed to celebrate that feast, he received information that the earl of Flanders was coming into England, to pay a visit to him, and to the tomb of St. Thomas. He went therefore to meet this prince at Canterbury, and, after they had performed their devotions together, they settled all matters relating to another more troublesome pilgrimage, which the earl was preparing to make, and to which the king himself was also obliged, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; not merely for the sake of paying their worship at the sepulchre of our Lord, but in order to defend it against the infidels. This the earl had undertaken in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five; but, having soon afterwards caused a nobleman to be slain, without any trial or form of law, on a strong suspicion of having dishonoured his bed, he was obliged to defer the performance of his vow by a civil war in Flanders, which the family and friends of the murdered person, who was of the first rank, and highest reputation for valour in that country, had excited against him. These rebels were subdued, and peace was restored to the earldom, before Midsummer in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six; and the earl, who intended to set out for Palestine on the next Christmas-

Benedict.
 Abbas,
 p. 200.

Ibidem,
 p. 142, 143.

Christmas-day, was stopt by a message, which the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely brought to him from Henry, desiring him to put off his journey to the Holy Land till the festival of Easter ensuing, when that king proposed to accompany him thither, if his affairs would permit, or to send with him some troops, if he could not go himself. The time assigned was approaching, and the state of the Christians in that part of the world seemed to require their aid.

How little benefit these had drawn from the crusade undertaken, at the instigation of Bernard, about thirty years before, has been shewn in a former part of this history. By all the efforts then made, the power of the Mahometans in the several countries adjacent to Palestine had not been diminished; but their courage and opinion of their own superior strength had been exceedingly raised, by their having seen the greatest potentates of Christendom vanquished, and two mighty armies, which had threatned to drive them beyond the Euphrates, wasted away and destroyed. In the year eleven hundred and forty-eight, presently after the return of the emperor Conrade and the king of France into Europe, Nouredin, sultan of Aleppo, invaded the territory of Antioch, at the head of an army collected from all the East. Raymond de Poitiers, Queen Eleanor's uncle, exposing his person, with a rash intrepidity, in the defence of his country, was overpowered and killed. The reputation
of

of this prince had been so illustrious among the Mahometans, that his head and right hand were presented by Nouredin, as the noblest spoils of the war, to the calyph of Bagdat. On this defeat, the whole principality of Antioch was over-run by the sultan, and the castle of Harenc, a place of very great strength, within a small distance from the city, was taken: but that capital itself and all the frontiers of Palestine were saved by the valour and extraordinary abilities of the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin the Third, who, though he had hardly attained to an age of manhood, not only repelled the assaults of Nouredin and the sultan of Iconium, his most formidable neighbours, but, turning his arms against the Saracens of Egypt, took from them, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three, the town of Ascalon, which commanded the borders of Egypt on the side of his kingdom. Nevertheless, while his forces were employed in this siege, Nouredin conquered Damascus, and all the territory belonging to that opulent city: a revolution very hurtful to the neighbouring Christian states, *which* ~~who~~ had much to fear from its troops, united hence-forwards with those of Aleppo, and commanded by Nouredin, a chief far superior to the effeminate prince he had deposed. The war continued between him and the realm of Jerusalem, with various success, till the year eleven hundred and fifty-eight, when Baldwin, taking advantage of a dangerous fit of sickness,

ness which had seized him in the camp, won from him the strong city of Cæsarea in Syria, and also recovered the important fortress of Harenc. In performing these exploits the king was assisted by Theodorick earl of Flanders, who had brought him a considerable body of troops. But, in the next summer, Noureddin, whose health was restored beyond all hope, laid siege to a castle which was one of the keys to the kingdom of Jerusalem, on the side of Damascus. The king and the earl, marching thither to relieve it, were met by the sultan, who had notice of their coming. A sharp battle ensued, which ended in a great defeat of the Turks. This victory gave some respite to the Christians of the Holy Land; and, though in the year eleven hundred and sixty-three they lost their best defence in the person of king Baldwin, who died of a fever; yet his brother Amalarick, who succeeded to his throne, began his reign very happily by beating the Ægyptians in a battle on their frontier.

Gul. Tyr.
L. xix.

Ægypt had, for some centuries, been under the dominion of schismatical caliphs, who deriving their pedigree, or pretending to derive it, from Fathemah, the daughter of Mahomet married to Ali, were called Fathemites or Alidæ, and maintained themselves against the caliphs of Bagdat, who descending only from Abbas, Mahomet's uncle, were not by their blood (if the genealogy of their rivals had not been disputed) entitled to an equal degree of veneration

veneration from the Mahometan sect. But these Fathemites, whose empire had spread over Mauritania, Numidia, Barbary, and all the sea-coast of Africk, from whence they had made themselves masters of Ægypt, became so indolent there, that, like the caliphs of Bagdat, they abandoned all business and care of the government to the generals of their armies, who, with the title of *soldans*, were really kings, leaving to them a mere form and shadow of royalty, supported only by the reverence which their family drew from the bigotry of the people. One of these ministers, called Sanar by the Latin historians contemporary with him, but whose true name was Schaour, procured aid from Nouredin to destroy a competitor, who had driven him out of Ægypt: but the general of those forces, while the soldan whom he came to assist was at Cairo, got possession of Belbeis, the ancient Pelusium, and kept it for his master. Schaour, whose own strength was not able to recover that important frontier place, which opened a passage to the armies of Nouredin for an absolute conquest of Ægypt, had recourse to Amalarick, king of Jerusalem, the valour of whose troops he before had proved to his cost; and by a promise of a tribute, or annual subsidy, of forty thousand crowns of gold, bought his assistance to drive the Turkish soldiers of Nouredin, the common enemy of both kingdoms, out of Belbeis. After a siege of three months the town was recovered; and

Gul. Tyr.
 l. xix. c. 5.
 Herbelot D.
 Orient. Art.
 Adhed Ledi-
 nillah. Ainb
 Ben Schaddi.
 Abulfeda
 Vit. Saladini
 Aucr. Boha-
 dino F.
 Sjeddi, p. 1.

Amalarick

BOOK V.

Gul. Tyr.

l. ix. c. 8, 9.

Amalarick returned from thence into Syria, where, during his absence, events of importance had happened. For Nouredin, awaiting the success of his general's operations in Ægypt, had taken a post on the confines of Damascus, and thought himself there so secure of not being molested by the Christians of Palestine, while their sovereign was in Ægypt with all the best of his troops, that he neglected even the usual and necessary cautions to prevent a surprize. Intelligence of this being given to Gilbert de Lacy, a great baron of England, Robert Mansel, a knight of Wales, and two nobles of Aquitaine, whom a desire of glory, and the merit of fighting for what they deemed the cause of Christ, had brought to Antioch at this time, they got together a few soldiers of that principality, and joining them to some Welsh, who had come into Palestine under the conduct of Mansel, assaulted by night the sultan's camp, and carrying into it, by their sudden and unexpected attack, the utmost terror and confusion, while the darkness concealed the smallness of their numbers, put to the sword, or took prisoners, the greatest part of his army. He himself, with much difficulty, escaped by flight, leaving behind him his arms and all his baggage. Thus gloriously did the Welsh make known to the bravest of the people of Asia, to the Saracens and the Turks, the British valour! But Nouredin, to efface and revenge this disgrace, the worst he ever had suffered, collected all his forces, and
begging

begging or hiring more from the neighbouring emirs, before the end of the year eleven hundred and sixty-five, besieged the castle of Harenc. For the relief of that place, the bulwark of Antioch, all the christian princes who had territories adjacent thereunto, or not very far distant, assembled their troops, and marched thither. On their near approach to his camp, the wary sultan retired; but, while they pursued him with a rash and precipitate ardour, he turned upon them in a streight, where they could not escape from him, and, having easily routed their disordered bands, took captive the prince of Antioch, the earl of Tripoli, the imperial præfect of Cilicia, and the titular earl of Edessa, with many other nobles. This great blow being struck, he soon became master of the castle of Harenc, and early in the next year, availing himself of the weakness and consternation of the christians, who had no chief in those parts and hardly any troops, took Casarea Philippi, before Amalarick, occupied in the siege of Belbeis, returned out of Ægypt.

The news of these losses, which was brought into Europe in the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, prevailed on the piety of the kings of France and of England, with the general consent of their subjects, to contribute to the defence of the Holy Land thus exposed to the further attempts of Noureddin, by a tax on all property, of what nature soever, at the rate of two pence in the pound.

Chron. Ger.
vas. ad ann.
1166:

BOOK V. for the year next ensuing, and one penny for the four succeeding years, in all the territories

M. Paris, ad
ann. 1166.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xix.

of France. It likewise appears that a tax was granted by parliament at the rate of four pence for every plough land in England (*de unaquodque carucatâ terræ*) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-six. Some part of these subsidies being paid to Amalarick in the year eleven hundred and sixty-seven, he hired forces sufficient to defend his own kingdom, and led others again into the confines of Ægypt, to oppose Asedoddin, the general of Nouredin, whom that prince had commanded to renew the war in those parts, and who was expelled a second time by this brave king; in return for which service, the stipulated tribute from Ægypt to him was encreased by the soldan to a hundred thousand *dinars* or crowns of gold; and (what was still of more value) a free commerce with that realm, the great center in those days of the whole Indian trade, was granted to his subjects.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xx.

But the weakness he had seen in the government and the armies of that opulent country suggested to him the hope of much greater advantages by the conquest thereof; which he soon afterwards undertook in confederacy with the emperor, Manuel Comnenus, whose niece he had married, and which he began by perfidiously surprising Belbeis. If he had instantly marched from thence to Grand Cairo, while the affright and disorder, which the first report of his unexpected hostilities had caused

caused in that city, continued in thier full force, he might perhaps have succeeded, even to the height of his wishes: but, suffering himself to be stopt by an offer from Schaour of an immense sum of money, he gave time to that foldan, who had no other resource, to treat with Nouredddin, and bring back into Ægypt, as an auxiliary, the same Asedoddin, whom he had twice driven out. The junction of the Ægyptians, in consequence of this league, with a great army of Turks, obliged Amalarick to retire into his own kingdom, withdrawing even the garrison which the knights hospitallers of Jerusalem had put into Belbeis, and having received from the foldan, instead of two millions of dinars or crowns of gold, which he had promised to pay, only one hundred thousand. Thus did the rapacious avarice of this prince defeat the great purposes of his ambition, to which he had sacrificed a solemn alliance, very useful to his realm; and thus was he disappointed of the gratification of his avarice itself! But worse mischiefs ensued. For Asedoddin, being now within the bowels of Ægypt, seized the person of Schaour, and sending his head to the caliph, his late master, was invested by that monarch, the helpless prey of the conqueror, with the office of foldan.

This revolution, which put the whole kingdom of Ægypt under the power of Noured-
din, came to pass in the year eleven hundred
and sixty-nine, without a sword being drawn

Abulfeda &
Vita Saladini,
Auctore Bo-
hadina, F.
Sjaddadi, c. 3.

against the Turks. Nor did the death of Aschododin, which happened soon after wards, deliver the caliph from the yoke of his new masters. For Saladin (or, according to the true orthography, Salaheddin) that general's nephew, who had distinguished himself greatly in the defence of Belbeis, succeeding to his uncle in the command of the army, obtained likewise the dignity of soldan of Ægypt. But in the autumn of that year, a powerful fleet, with many troops and a vast abundance of arms and military stores, having come to Ptolemais from Constantinople, pursuant to the treaty which Amalarick had made with Manuel Comnenus, and a great supply of money out of England and France having been sent to that king not long before, he laid siege to Damietta, situated on the eastern mouth of the Nile, in conjunction with the Greeks. The town was bravely defended; so that, after two months, despairing to take it, he retired with his army, not a little diminished by the losses it had suffered, into his own kingdom, which his unjust and unsuccessful enterprises had exceedingly weakened. The confederate fleet, returning back from Damietta to Ptolemais, was destroyed by a tempest; so unprosperous were all the events of this war, begun in violation of the most sacred laws of publick faith! In the following summer of the year eleven hundred and seventy, most of the cities in the regions of Syria and Phœnicia, adjacent to Palestine, Aleppo, Tripoli, Antioch, Emessa, Cæsarea,

Cæsarea, Laodicea, Gabulum, Tyre and Hama, with numberless towns and villages of lesser note, were totally overturned, or much hurt, by the shocks of an earthquake, one of the greatest recorded in the history of the world! Damascus also was endangered, though not to the same degree as those above-mentioned; and both Turks and Christians in those parts, under the affliction and terror of so dreadful a calamity, were compelled for some time to a cessation of arms, which the latter could not otherwise have obtained from the former.

Saladin, in the mean while, received orders from Nouredin to forbid the usual form of beginning publick prayers in the Egyptian mosques with the name of Adhed Ledinallah, the caliph then reigning, and to substitute to it that of Morthadi Beemrillah, the thirty-third caliph of the family of Abbas. He answered, that he feared the execution of these orders would produce a rebellion: but, the sultan insisting, he obeyed; having first, with great prudence, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for such an alteration, by inviting into Egypt, from all those parts of the East which acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph of Bagdat, the most learned priests and doctors of the Mahometan law, erecting in that kingdom schools and colleges for them, and causing them to depose, by a synodical sentence, the Fathenite caliph, as false and schismatical. He also turned out from their offices all the cadis, or ministers of the law, who

Abulfeda.
Herbelot,
Dict. Orient.
Salaheddin,
Nouredin,
Adhed Ledi-
nallah, &
Morthadi
Beemrillah,
Vit. Saladini
Magni, Auc-
tore Bohadino
Sjesfaddi.

were most attached to the sect and family of Ali, and put in others who favoured the family of Abbas. So efficacious were these measures, or so void of spirit at this time were the fervile Egyptians, that they submitted to the ruin of their religion and government without any resistance. William archbishop of Tyre, a co-temporary historian, says, that Saladin, having free access to the caliph Adhed Ledi-nallah, as foldan, beat out his brains with an iron club or mace; and others affirm that he ordered him to be strangled: but we are told by the best Mahometan writers, that, when the name of this caliph was suppressed in the mosques, he was desperately sick, and soon afterwards died of that illness, none having dared to inform him, even in his last moments, of what had been done in his realm against his authority! With him ended the dynasty of the Alidæ or Fathemites in Africk and in Egypt.

When the news of this event was brought to Bagdat, the caliph sent royal vestments, with two of Mahomet's standards, to Noureddin and to Saladin, thus constituting them generals and defenders under him of the Mahometan faith. The latter of these appeared to act as lieutenant to the former, but had indeed higher views: for he bestowed the vast treasures of the dead Egyptian caliph on the army he commanded, and, next to them, on the clergy, whose favour he thought of almost equal importance, with such a profuse liberality,

Gul. Tyr.
De Bello Sa-
cron, l. xx.
c. 12.

Abulfeda,
Herbelot in
locis citatis.
Vit. Saladini
ut suprà.
c. 7.

Vita Salad.
ut suprà.
Gul. Tyr.
l. xx. c. 12.

lity, that he left for himself no part thereof, and was even forced to borrow money for the necessary charges of his own household. This conduct excited the jealousy of Nouredin; but that sultan concealed his apprehensions of an evil, to which he could not, at this time, apply any remedy, and seemed to believe the professions of obedience and loyalty, which this artful usurper still continued to make, while he was establishing, by all the secret workings of policy, his own dominion in Ægypt. Yet, notwithstanding the care which both of them took to cover their enmity, Saladin having, by the arms of one of his brothers, united to Ægypt the territory of Arabia Felix, this encrease of his power gave such umbrage to the sultan, that in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three that prince was preparing to make war against him, when death prevented the execution of his design, and delivered the fortunate Saladin from a contest, the issue of which he himself must have thought very doubtful.

Vit. Saladini,
c. 9.

Abulfeda,
Vit. Saladini,
c. 10.

About two months after the decease of Nouredin, Amalarick also died of a fever and dysentery, in the tenth year of his reign and the thirty-eighth of his age, leaving his dominions to Baldwin, the fourth of that name, his son by the sister of the late earl of Edeffa. This prince being a minor, the care of the government was committed to Milo de Planci, a favourite of the late king, and great seneschall of the realm: but his insolence to the

Gul. Tyr.
l. xx. c. 33.

L. xxi. c. 1,
2, 3, 4.

nobles so provoked their resentments, that, before the end of the year, they basely put an end to his power and life by an assassination, and gave the custody of the realm to Raymond earl of Tripoli, who had been lately redeemed from a long captivity at Aleppo. He was justly esteemed a man of abilities equal to that office, which required no small ones in so perilous a conjuncture; the power of Saladin making daily and rapid advances, after the death of Nouredin, to such a magnitude as the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem, if not sustained by the aid of more powerful states, could ill resist. Nouredin had left a son but eleven years old to inherit his dominions; which prince, named Malecfalah, was acknowledged by Saladin as sovereign of Egypt: but a dangerous insurrection for the restoration of the family of the Fatemites, or Alidz, having been suppressed in that country, and a great army and fleet, which the king of Sicily sent to besiege Alexandria, having been repulsed with disgrace, the victorious soldan thought it time to throw off the mask which he had hitherto worn. Going suddenly to Damascus, he took possession of that city, which the inhabitants, with whom he had secretly intrigued, delivered up to him, in breach of their allegiance to the young Malecfalah, who was then at Aleppo. In like manner all the cities and forts in Cælefyria, which had belonged to Nouredin, were betrayed to this usurper, excepting only Aleppo and the citadel

of Emiffa. The latter of thefe, in the fpring of the next year, eleven hundred and feventy-four, was alfo furrendered to him, on his having defeated fome cavalry, which the uncle of Malecfalah, who was fultan of Moful, the capital of Affyria, had brought from thence to oppofe him in his defign of ufurping the whole patrimony of that prince.

Thus the kingdom of Jerufalem, and the leffer principalities dependant upon it, were hemmed in, on all fides, by the territories of Saladin, who joining now the immense wealth, and maritime power of Ægypt, to the land forces trained under the difcipline of Nouredin, was a terrible neighbour, and ftill more to be feared from the greatnefs of his talents than of his dominions; it being hard to fay in which he moft excelled, the arts of policy, or of war. Befides the imminent danger which threatened the Holy Land from the conquering arms of this prince, it was further weakened by the ill fuccefs of a war, which the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, had made, in the year eleven hundred and feventy-five, againft the fultan of Iconium. The greateft part of his army had miferably perifted in the defiles of fome mountains, into which they had been unwifely led. There is extant a letter; which he wrote on this occafion to King Henry the Second, whom he ftiles *his beloved friend*, informing him of fome circumftances which made the difafter appear lefs difgraceful, and boasting, that notwithstanding the lofs he had

Nicetas, l. vi.

Diceto Imag.
Hift. f. 596.

had suffered, the sultan had sued to him for peace, which he had granted on terms very honourable to himself. The truth was that his person and the remains of his army were with difficulty saved by means of a treaty, which some pensioners he had in the camp of the sultan persuaded their master to make, but which was not kept on either side: and though afterwards he recovered the honour of his arms by defeating an army of fourscore thousand Turks, who, by orders of that prince, had invaded his country, yet he never was able, during the rest of his life, to do any thing against them within their own bounds, so as to render the king of Jerusalem more secure against an attack from that quarter. The caliph of Bagdat, whose supremacy, as Mahomet's lawful successor, Saladin owned and supported, and who was further obliged to him for the final extinction of the rival caliphate in Egypt, gave him in return all the aid his authority could afford, from whence he knew how to draw great advantages in all his undertakings.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1177.
Brompton,
col. 1127.

Such was the state of the East in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when the earl of Flanders, having finished his devotions to Becket, departed for the Holy Land, attended by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and some other English nobles. Henry made him a present of five hundred marks of silver, to help him to bear the charges of his pilgrimage, and sent by other hands, for the support

support of the Holy War, a thousand more. His affairs in Europe were now so much embroiled, that they would not permit him to accomplish his promise of going to that war in company with this prince. He certainly had in view some military operations in the kingdom of France: for, soon after the meeting of the ordinary council at Easter, a parliament was assembled, first at Ely, and then at Windsor, to the last of which places came all the earls and barons, and almost all the tenants of the king by military service, *with their horses and arms, prepared to go where ever he should command them*, as I find it expressed by contemporary authors. After much consultation about the proper means of securing the internal peace of his kingdom, if a foreign war should come on, he made some changes in the custody of some of his castles, and ordered that of Alverton, which the bishop of Durham had fortified in the late civil war, to be destroyed: but, a fine of two thousand marks being paid by that prelate, his other fortresses were spared, and the king gave, at his request, to Henry de Pusey, his son, the royal manor of Wickton. He also restored to the earl of Chester all his castles, without any conditions, but with an intention to employ that nobleman in a service of the highest importance.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1177.

Hoveden,
Ann. pass
post. ad ann.,
1176. r/.

The government of Ireland still remained too disorderly and too feeble for a permanent system.

system. Neither the death of O Ruark, nor the treaty between Henry and Roderick O Connor, had prevented the barbarous chieftain of Tirone from taking and demolishing, after Strongbow's decease, the castle of Slane in Meath, which Hugh de Lacy had built, and putting to the sword, not only the whole garrison, but all others who were in it, men, women, and children. This so frightened the garrisons of three other castles, erected by the same lord, that they quitted them the next day. On Fitzaldelm's arrival the hostilities of the Irish were stop'd in that country, but nothing was done to punish or reduce them to a settled obedience; nor was any vengeance taken of Donald O Brian prince of Limerick, for his having fired that city, after he had engaged, as a liegeman to Henry and as one of his barons, to keep it for that king; nor did any part of Ulster, by fealty, or tribute, acknowledge the sovereignty of the English crown. The new deputy, who was more a politician than a soldier, thought only of maintaining his own power in the government by weakening the Fitzgeralds, and of avoiding a war with any Irish prince which might put him in need of their aid. But the English forces in Dublin, impatient of inaction, and desiring the spoils and pillage of the Irish, were much displeased with this conduct. Their disgust was the stronger, from their being ill paid; a complaint, which, if owing to any fault in Fitzaldelm, was the worst charge against him. Yet he

he neither removed it, nor suffered them to supply their wants by their valour, as the troops under Strongbow and Raymond Fitzgerald had been accustomed to do. But John de Curcy, the next to him in command, chusing out of them a body of two and twenty knights and three hundred other soldiers, boldly offered to lead them, accompanied by some Irish, who were willing to assist in this undertaking, against Mac Dunlevy, king of Ulster, who had refused hitherto all subjection to Henry, and into whose country, inhabited by a people the most warlike in Ireland, the arms of that monarch, or of any English chief, had never yet penetrated. In vain did the deputy, by a peremptory order, forbid him to proceed. The prohibition was slighted, either because the commission granted to him by Henry impowered him to act separately, and independently of Fitz Aldelm, against the unsubdued Irish, or from a confidence that success would justify disobedience. At the beginning of February in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, this little army advanced, by a hasty march of three days, from Dublin to Down-Patrick, the metropolis of Ulster and residence of Mac Dunlevy, the chieftain of that province, who had the title of king. This city, like all others belonging to the Irish, was without walls or bulwarks. On Curcy's approach the king fled, having made no preparations against this unforeseen attack. It chanced that cardinal Vivian, Pope Alexander's legate into Scotland and Ireland,

BOOK V.

A. D. 1177.

Hibern. Expugnat. l. ii. c. 16, 17.

Benedict. Abbas, t. i. p. 169.

Hibern. Expugnat. ut supra.

Benedict. Abbas, t. i. p. 169.

Hibern. Expugnat. l. ii. c. 16.

BOOK V. was lately arrived at Down-Patrick, and continuing there, after Curcy and his troopshad taken possession of it, endeavoured to mediate a peace for Mac Dunlevy, by whom he had been very respectfully treated. To this end he proposed, that the English should return home, on condition, that this prince should pay tribute to Henry: but, finding them wholly averse to such an agreement, he went to the king of Ulster; and exhorted him to take arms in defence of his country. Mac Dunlevy, thus encouraged, gathered together, within the term of eight days, from his province of Down, (which the Irish called Ulad) about ten thousand men, with whom, having received the legate's benediction; he marched to Down-Patrick. Curcy had begun to build a fort; but, not having leisure to make it defensible, he drew out of the town all his forces, on the approach of the Irish, and courageously gave them battle. The Ulster troops, though all infantry, stood the shock of the English cavalry, and fought hand to hand, with extraordinary valour: but their cumbersome axes and short javelins were no match for the swords and lances of the enemy, nor could their bodies, unarmed, resist or endure the incessant flights of arrows, with which they were galled by the archers, while the knights and men at arms, compleatly covered with steel, pushed their horses against them, and broke through all their thickest files. Curcy himself, who in strength of body was superior to

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 9.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. ut
suprà.

to most of his soldiers, gallantly charged at their head, and made with his sword a great slaughter of the Irish; who, after all their bravest men had fallen in the action, endeavoured to save themselves by flight; but flying along the sea shore, where the cavalry could pursue them, they were almost all slain. The legate, apprehending the resentment of the conquerors for the part he had acted, took sanctuary in a church; but Curcy gave him protection, and at his intercession freed the bishop of Down, who, having gone out with his flock, the Ulster men, to this battle, had in the pursuit been made captive.

While this general was employed in finishing the new fort he had planned at Down-Patrick for the future defence of that city, the legate went to Dublin, and held a synod of all the Irish bishops and abbots, to whom he declared the pope's confirmation of the king of England's right to the sovereignty of Ireland, and strictly commanded the clergy and laity of that realm to keep their fealty to him under the penalty of excommunication. He likewise gave the English soldiers a liberty to take what victuals they wanted, in any of their expeditions, out of the churches into which, as inviolable sanctuaries, the Irish used to remove them; only ordering, that a reasonable price should be paid to the rectors of such churches for all they took. Thus he shewed that his favouring the king of Ulster against Curcy proceeded not from dislike of the English govern-

BOOK V.
A.D. 1177.

Hibern. Expugnata. l. ii. c. 17.

Neubrigenfis, l. iii. c. 9.

government in Ireland, which his instructions and the interest of the Roman pontificate obliged him to support, but from a belief that the king, by submitting to pay tribute, might, agreeably to the spirit of the treaty between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, obtain peace and security in his own possessions; or, perhaps, from his knowledge that Fitzaldelm disapproved Curcy's enterprize against Ulster.

Soon after the dissolution of this legatine council, Milo de Cogan, now governor of the city of Dublin, and constable to Fitzaldelm, by the orders of that lord, undertook an expedition into Conaught, which no English army had ever entered before. There was at this time so violent a dissention between Roderick O'Connor and his eldest son Murtach, that in consequence of it the young prince fled to Dublin, and incited Fitzaldelm to make war on his father, offering himself to conduct into the heart of his country the troops employed in this service. The occasion was tempting; as the discord in the royal family might probably arm one part of the people against the other, and help the English to subdue the whole of that yet unconquered realm. But Henry's treaty with O'Connor was utterly inconsistent with such a proceeding. It must therefore be presumed, that something done by the latter in breach of that treaty, or some defect in performing the stipulated conditions, removed this objection. I do not find that the tribute he had promised to pay from his hereditary

hereditary kingdom, and to levy from other districts, had been paid or levied by him; and this being the basis of the whole convention, a failure herein was enough to make it void. Certain it is that Fitzaldelm, whose general plan was pacifick, thought this service so necessary to his master's affairs, that, although the detachment, led by Curcy into Ulster against his will, had considerably weakened his force, he sent forty knights, two hundred horsemen of a rank inferior to those, and three hundred archers, under Milo de Cogan, to invade and ravage Conaught, as an enemy's country. They passed the Shannon, and advanced as far as Tuam unresisted; but, wherever they came, they found all provisions, which were not concealed in subterraneous granaries, destroyed by the Irish, who, wanting time to remove them out of the houses or churches in which they had been stored, fired the villages and the towns, to consume all together, and retired themselves, with their families and their cattle, into the fastnesses of the mountains, or inaccessible woods. This answered their purpose; for the want of all necessaries forced the English to return at the end of eight days, without having gained any profit or advantage by this invasion. When they approached to the Shannon, Roderick O Conor attacked them in a wood near that river with a numerous army, which nevertheless they broke through, losing only three horsemen, and got safely back to Dublin.

Many of the Irish were slain; but Murtach, Roderick's son, (who probably had the command of some of the Leinster bands,) was taken in the action, and delivered up to his father, who punished his treason by putting out his eyes. It does not appear, that one chief, or any number of people belonging to Conaught, joined that prince in this war; so hateful to them all was his bringing English forces into that kingdom!

Ireland being in this state, more authority and more strength in the government there were evidently wanting. The best measure (indeed one might say the only good one) would have been Henry's returning with a powerful army, and making some stay in that island. But any hope of his being able to do this was far distant. He had much to fear from his eldest son and from France; but, if those clouds which appeared to be pregnant with new storms should happily be dispersed, his reiterated promises to go to the holy war seemed to make it an indispensable obligation upon him to fulfil that engagement as soon as he should obtain a settled peace. Some method to supply (so far as it could be supplied) the want of his presence, was therefore to be sought; and he judged very truly, that the Irish nation, accustomed, through the course of many ages, to be governed by princes of as ancient royal blood as any in Europe, would not easily be kept patient under the rule of his servants, vested indeed with his power, and
acting

acting in his name, but not of very high birth. From these thoughts an inclination arose in his mind about this time, to give to one of his sons the dominion of Ireland, to be held as a great hereditary fief under himself and his heirs. Having built his own original claim to that kingdom on a grant from the see of Rome, he likewise thought proper to apply to the pope for his approbation of this intended infeoffment; which was readily granted; and the choice being left (as he had desired) to him, he determined to fix it on his youngest son, John. But that prince, being still a child, could not help him to subdue the yet unconquered parts; nor did he believe that the troops which he had in that island were equal to the task. He therefore wished to procure such an addition of strength, as might accomplish this purpose without further demands upon his own exchequer, which the late war had brought low, and which other great expences, going on and encreasing, threatened now to exhaust. This could only be effected by some nobleman of his kingdom undertaking the adventure at his own private charges, and with his own vassals. The earl of Chester, whose possessions and seignories were so vast, that he could not want either men, or money to pay them, in any enterprize he should form, and whose soldiers could so easily be transported from Cheshire and North Wales into Ireland, seemed in every respect the properest for this service of all the

BOOK V. English barons. Nor was it undesirable to remove that great lord, who had so lately rebelled, and, though pardoned, might again incline to rebel, out of the countries in which his forces lay, and employ his ambition in another island, while Henry might be abroad, engaged in a war with the king of France in that realm, or with Saladin in the East. From these motives that monarch, soon after the breaking up of the parliament of Windsor, in which he had restored to the earl all his castles, informed him of his present decided resolution to give Ireland to John in the manner above-mentioned, and ordered him to go and subdue it entirely to the young prince *and to him*. It must be understood, that, in charging this lord with the burthen of such an undertaking, he promised to grant to him, under fealty and homage, whatever countries his arms should win from the Irish, not granted before to other subjects of England; yet reserving to himself the towns on the sea coast, and the districts of land round about them, as royal demesnes. But no charter to this effect appears; because the earl was prevented, by some cause not explained in the writings of those times, from pursuing this design. As he died in the spring of the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, it is not improbable, that ill health, coming upon him soon after he had received this commission, may have been his excuse for declining a warfare which required great exertions of activity and of vigour. About the middle of

Benedict.
Abbas.

Ibidem.

of May, in this year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, Henry declared to a parliament, assembled by him at Oxford, his grant of Ireland to John, his youngest son; which, being made in their presence, may be presumed to have had their approbation, and probably was not made without their advice. After this sanction of it, he confirmed to Hugh de Lacy his former grant of Meath, but with these variations from the terms of the charter of the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, that this lord, for the future, was to hold that great province, with all its appurtenances, not only under him, but under him *and his son*, by the service of *a hundred*, instead of *fifty*, knights. The province of Limerick, or North-Munster, which Donald O Brian had forfeited by repeated acts of treason, he bestowed on two brothers of Reginald earl of Cornwall, and on Joscelin de Pumerai, their nephew; excepting the city and some adjacent parts, which he kept in his own hands *for himself and his heirs*. To Robert Fitz-Stephen and to Milo de Cogan, and their heirs after them, he granted the province, or (as it is styled in the charter) the *kingdom* of Cork, or South Munster, according to the limits there settled, *to be held of him and his son John, and their heirs*, by the service of sixty knights, viz. thirty from each lord; and also gave them, *during pleasure and so long as they should serve him well*, the joint custody of the town of Cork, with the cantred annexed to it, which

BOOK V.

A. D. 1177.

Hoveden.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

p. 206.

Ibidem,

p. 207.

See the Char-

ter in the Ap-

pendix to this

Book, from

Ware, p. 237.

238.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

p. 204, 208.

Hibern. Ex-

pugn. l. ii.

had c 18.

BOOK VI
 A. D. 1177.
 Hoveden,
 pars poster.

had belonged to the Ostmen of that city, and which he kept in his own hands. Among the subscribing witnesses to this charter we find William Fitzaldelm; and it also appears from the evidence of contemporary writers, that the custody of Dublin was taken from him at this time, and given to Hugh de Lacy, with the government of all Ireland. But Wexford, which the king had committed to him (Fitzaldelm) in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, and had afterwards granted to Strongbow, was now restored to him, as a proper appendix to the custody of Leinster, with which he was entrusted. This province, or *realm* (as it had been called by the Irish), on the decease of earl Strongbow appertained to the king, as supreme lord of the fief, in the infancy of the heir. We have no account to whose custody it had before been consigned. The husband of the earl's sister, Raymond Fitz-gerald, seems naturally to have had the best pretensions to it; but a jealousy of him prevailed in Henry's mind, and was, probably, the chief cause of the preference given to Fitzaldelm. That the English settled in Leinster were governed at this time by the feudal laws of England, and that the Irish living there submitted to those laws, very different from their own as to the rules of succession, appears from this inheritance thus descending to an infant, and from the custody of it, during the minority, being taken by the king, and by his appointment committed to one of his

his servants, without opposition from them. Whether the son, Strongbow left, was still alive, is doubtful: but he did not live long; and the province, which that lord had gained by his marriage with the daughter of King Dermond, was inherited by their daughter, the lady Isabella, who remained till Henry's death a ward of the crown. What provision was made for the government of Ireland in the absence of Fitzaldelm, on his recall into England, we are not told. There is in that kingdom a remarkable statute of king Richard the Third, which expressly refers to and confirms one enacted by Henry the Second (called there Henry Fitz Empress) *for the election of a governor of Ireland, when it shall happen to be void of any lawful governor; in which case it is declared, that, according to the tenor, usage, and execution of the said statute of Henry Fitz Empress, it shall be lawful for the chancellor and treasurer of Ireland and other officers therein mentioned, with the assent of the nobles of that land, as is specified in the same statute, to chuse a noble lord to be governor, and to have the government as justice of Ireland, to hold and enjoy according to the antient usage used and executed from that time.* Hence it plainly appears, that Henry the Second made statutes for the government of Ireland: but in what year of his reign this act was passed I cannot certainly tell; though, as John, his son, is not said to have joined with him in it, we may conclude it was prior to the grant to

Rot. Pat.
2 Rich. III.
c. 8.

See also Harris's Hibernia,
p. 122.

BOOK V. that prince. Fitzaldelm being defective in the military talents which the deputy's station required, it might now be advisable to remove him from that post, and yet not improper to trust him with the administration of Leinster and the custody of Wexford; as those parts of Ireland were in a quieter state of subjection to the English, and less exposed to attacks from the unsubdued or rebellious Irish than any of the others. At the same time the king gave to Robert le Poer, a young gentleman who had greatly distinguished his valour in the battle near Down-Patrick, the government of Waterford, and settled the bounds of those districts which he chose should henceforth belong to that city, and to Wexford, and Dublin, with the feudal services due to each. Homage was done for these grants, by those who received them, to prince John and to him, before the parliament rose.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

From all these acts it appears, that in giving to his son the dominion of Ireland, he was so far from separating it (as some have imagined) from England, by an absolute cession, that he rendered the whole kingdom a fief to be held under himself and his heirs, by liege homage and fealty; and even annexed to the proper demesne of the crown, in all perpetuity, the chief cities and harbours, with such territories as might suffice to maintain them: thus keeping in his own hands, and in those of his successors, a strong controul on the power of John and his heirs, if they ever should

should attempt to become independant on the sovereignty of England. Against the choice which he made of his youngest son for this grant there seems to have been one great objection, I mean the apparent incapacity of that prince, by reason of his infancy, to administer the government, for many years to come: whereas, had it been given to Richard, or Geoffrey, the first might have instantly taken upon himself both to rule and defend it, nor would the age of the latter have been long insufficient to qualify him for that charge. But, these princes having great dominions in France, it could not be expected that either of them would fix his residence in Ireland, which John, who had only a few castles on the continent, might more easily do, and which was requisite to be done for the finishing and maintaining of the conquests made in that isle. As for the young king of England, he and his queen would have thought the sending them to reside in such a barbarous country rather a banishment than a favour, and would, probably, have refused to go; nor could it be proper to keep the heir apparent to the crown, for any long time, out of England. Henry therefore could find no better expedient, than to constitute in the person of his youngest son John a governor of Ireland, who might give himself wholly up to the duties of that office, as soon as he should be of age, and sooth the Irish at this time with the prospect of a change to their future

BOOK V. future advantage. Nevertheless it is probable, that a fond affection for John, and desire to raise him to a state not inferior to that of his brothers, the dukes of Aquitaine and Bretagne, was a principal cause of this choice.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

To the same parliament held at Oxford, in which these affairs, relating to Ireland, were settled, came David ap Owen, the king, or prince, of North-Wales, Rhees ap Gryffyth of South Wales, Owen Cyvelioc and all the most powerful chiefs of Powisland, with many other Welsh nobles, whom Henry had summoned to confer with him there upon the state of their country. To David ap Owen he had given in marriage his natural sister, named Emma, about the time when that prince had furnished him with those troops which helped to raise the siege of Rouen. This was a very wise measure; the Welsh, who made little difference between a legitimate or illegitimate birth where the father's blood was noble, esteeming such an affinity with the king of England an honour done by him to their nation, and a bond of union which rendered his sovereignty over them less offensive to their pride. The effect of it was, that North Wales remained faithful and affectionate to him, even till the end of his life. Rhees ap Gryffyth, at Christmas in the preceding year eleven hundred and seventy-six, had made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Abertivy, "*which he caused (says the Welsh chronicle) to be proclaimed through all Britain; and to*" "*which*

“ *which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented.*” I would observe hereupon, that this appears to have been the first carousal ever given, after the manner of the Normans, by any Welsh prince. The same chronicle adds, that, “ *among deeds of arms and other shews, Rhees caused all the poets, or bards of Wales to come thither, and provided chairs for them, to be set in his hall, where they should contend together, to try their skill and talents in their several faculties, and where great rewards and rich gifts were appointed for the victors.*” We also learn from it, that in this poetical contest the bards of North Wales won the prize, but it says, *That the musicians of the prince's own household were accounted the best*; which shews that in Wales the bards and harpers at this time were different orders of men.

In thus regaling his guests with poetry and musick, the Welsh prince kept up the antient custom of his country, and, by the number and skill of the poets and musicians he assembled together, did undoubtedly much excel what Henry could exhibit in the same way to him, and to the other chiefs of Wales, who were now entertained in the royal castle of Oxford. But Henry shewed himself a great master of the art of producing good harmony in a state; for he sent them all away well affected to his person and well disposed to his service. It is indeed no mean proof of the ability of this monarch,

monarch, that he had so managed matters, as to make the Welsh valour, from which England had been used to suffer much damage and continual molestation, assist to overcome his enemies on the continent, and to acquire for himself and the successors to his crown the dominion of Ireland. Rees, and David ap Owen, had particularly served him in the late war, when their enmity, or a cold indifference to his service, might have done him great mischief. Of this he expressed a just sense, by granting at this time to each of those princes a manor or lordship, from his own demesnes in Wales, or from escheats in his hands: namely to Rhees Meronidon, and to David Ellefmere, in return for which they both swore allegiance to him, and moreover took an oath to maintain a firm peace with the kingdom of England, which, I presume, he required, not in order to prevent their revolting against him, but to hinder their deciding any differences between them and the English lords of the marches, as their nation was accustomed to decide all disputes among themselves, by instantly taking up arms.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

p. 212, 213.

About the latter end of May the royal army of England was, by Henry's command, assembled at Winchester, and almost the whole shipping of England and Normandy was collected together, at Portsmouth and Southampton, to transport them to Barfleur, when, the bishop of Bayeux arriving here from France, Henry, on the information this prelate brought to

to him of the state of things there, with the advice of his council dismissed his troops, but ordered them to reassemble at Winchester before the end of June. In the mean time he sent back the bishop of Bayeux, and with him two other churchmen, the archdeacon of Oxford and the bishop of Ely, to whom he joined in commission the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Winchester, who was then his justiciary in the dutchy of Normandy, and other lords of that country, instructing them to demand all the territory lying between Gisors and Pontoise (commonly called the French Vexin) in addition to the portion which the treaty of marriage had given to Margaret, his eldest son's wife, on the ground of a promise which her father had made to that young prince. They were also to ask the royal city of Bourges with all its appurtenances, promised by Louis to Richard, duke of Aquitaine, as a portion for that king's other daughter, Adalais, whom the duke was to marry. He further required, that Margaret, who, without his permission or knowledge, had gone from Normandy, big with child, to her father's court at Paris, should instantly be sent back: but, soon afterwards, she was brought to bed of a son, who lived only two days; and, before the term fixed for Henry's army to reassemble at Winchester, the bishop of Ely and the archdeacon of Oxford returned out of Normandy, to inform the king, what answer his eldest son had made

Benedict.
Abbas, t. i.
p. 214.

BOOK V. made to some orders delivered by them in his name; the purport of which we are not told. It is only said, that, the answer displeasing him greatly, he summoned thereupon all the bishops of England, to meet the barons and military tenants in chief, who were to attend him in arms at Winchester on the day appointed, and, by their joint advice, delayed the embarkation till the ministers he had sent to Louis should return, or till he should receive a messenger from them. On the twelfth of July one arrived, and brought him intelligence, that a cardinal legate in France had a mandate from the pope to put under an interdict all his dominions on both sides of the water, if he did not permit his son Richard to marry Adelais, whom, as designed for that prince, he had held in his custody longer than the term agreed upon with her father.

Ibidem,
p. 230.

It may seem strange, that the pope should interfere in this matter: for Richard had not been joined to this lady by any solemn espousals with the consent of both parties: but the treaty of Montmirail, in which it was covenanted, while he and she were both infants, that he should be her husband, had been sworn to by Henry: and the see of Rome in those days had arrogated to itself a spiritual jurisdiction in all contracts upon oath. Nevertheless this was certainly an extraordinary exertion of that usurped power, and must have been owing to some extraordinary cause. The king, alarmed by it, had recourse to a method

method which only served to gain time, ordering his bishops to appeal to Alexander himself from what might be done by the legate; but he hoped by negotiating personally with this minister, and through him with the pope, to bring the latter to act more favourably towards him, and, by carrying over to France a powerful army, to intimidate Louis. His residence for some time had been on the sea coast at the castle of Stansted near Portsmouth; but a wound in his leg, which, during the late civil war, he had got by an accidental kick from a horse, breaking out afresh there, he removed to Winchester, where he waited till the better air of that city had healed it again: after which he embarked, with all his forces, at Portsmouth, on the 18th of August, and landed in Normandy on the following day.

A. D. 1177.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. i.
p. 231.

Ibidem.
p. 232.

The writers of that age, too defective in the whole account of this business, have not explained by what means the young king of England, at whose behaviour his father had been lately much offended, was now reconciled to him: but we are told that they went together to Rouen on the eleventh of September, and were met there by the legate. All we know of what passed in this conference is, that no endeavours could shake the legate's resolution (founded, doubtless, on clear and positive orders, given by the pope) to put what he had threatened in immediate execution, if Henry should delay any longer to celebrate the stipulated marriage, which both
the

Ibidem,
p. 242.

BOOK V. the parties were now of an age to consummate. Perhaps Alexander knew, from the report made to him by cardinal Huguzon, that the motive of Henry's unwillingness to conclude it was a secret desire of wedding the princess Adelais himself, if he could by any means obtain that divorce, which Gervase of Canterbury says he had sued for to Rome when Huguzon was in England. If the pope had consented to such a separation, the king, freed from Eleanor, might have married this lady, as in much later times, Philip the Second of Spain did a daughter of France contracted to his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos. But, if his Holiness had some notice, or barely a suspicion of this intention in Henry, he might the more obstinately refuse his consent to that divorce, and more vehemently press the conclusion of the marriage of Adelais with Richard, as the strongest bar to all hopes, which Henry might form, of ever succeeding in so unwise a purpose, suggested by a passion unbecoming his age, and injurious to his fame.

However this may have been, when that monarch discovered, by his conference with the legate, that the sentence of interdict would undoubtedly be pronounced against all his dominions, if he did not obey the pope's mandate, he promised to do so, only begging for a respite till he had conferred with Louis.

They accordingly met, on the twenty-first of September, attended by the principal nobles of both

both realms. It seems, the main obstacle to **BOOK V.**
 concord between them had been Henry's re- **A. D. 1177.**
 fusing to fulfill his engagement with regard
 to Richard's marriage: for, this point being
 yielded, all the others in dispute were either
 given up, or referred to arbitrators. As for
 the promise, which Louis is said to have made
 to the young king and to Richard, of the
 French Vexin and of the city of Bourges, if
 it was made while those princes were confeder-
 ated with him in the war against Henry,
 that monarch could not decently insist on it
 now, when all the other conventions agreed
 upon at that time had been declared null and
 void. Yet it is not improbable that Louis
 might confirm the grant of Bourges, as a
 portion for his daughter, the princess Adelaïs,
 when her marriage with Richard should be
 fully accomplished; because it does not ap-
 pear that she was to have any other, and be-
 cause he was certainly desirous to end all dif-
 ferences with Henry in an amicable way, that
 they might both take the cross, and go toge-
 ther into Palestine, for the defence of that
 country and the sepulchre of Christ against
 the infidels. His zeal in this cause had never
 cooled, and he thought it more necessary to
 exert it now, as the earl of Flanders was lately
 returned from those parts without having **V. Gul. Tyr.**
 done any service to the Christians whom he **Belli Sacri**
 had gone to assist. Indeed, while that prince **l. xxi. 14—**
 was ineffectually besieging the castle of Harenc **25.**
 in the territory of Antioch, the young king
 Vol. VI. G of

of Jerusalem, on the twenty-fourth of November in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, at the head of about three thousand men, had defeated a body of six and twenty thousand horse, commanded by Saladin, on the plains near to Rama: but this victory, gained by a sudden onset made upon them while they were in disorder, did not avail to prevent the earl, who was weary of the war, from raising his siege, and leaving Palestine, the next year, no stronger than it was before he came. In these circumstances, and under the government of a king who was only in the seventeenth year of his age, a more effectual aid from the European princes was apparently wanting, against Saladin's immense power, which the loss of one army had but little diminished. Sensible of this, and desirous of the spiritual benefits supposed to attend upon crusades, Louis resolved to take the cross, and urged Henry to join him in this pious design. Whether that prince did himself sincerely desire to go to the Holy War, (as the terms upon which he had received absolution and the oath he had taken required) is not very certain: but he could not now plead (as he had hitherto pleaded) that impediments strong enough to excuse the violation of such a solemn engagement prevented his going. It is likewise highly probable, that the cardinal legate, whom Louis had sent for into France, was instrumental in bringing the English monarch to concur with the French in this purpose.

pose. At the end of their conference they notified to the world by a manifesto preserved among our records, that they had promised and sworn to take the cross, and go together to Jerusalem, for the service of christianity; and that each would defend, to the utmost of his power, the person, dignity, and dominions of the other.

A. D. 1177.
See Rymer's
Collections,
t. i. p. 50.

The time of taking the cross was probably settled by another preceding convention referred to in this act. There is reason to believe, that some day in the summer of the next ensuing year, or, at latest, in the autumn, was fixed upon for it, and that, in the interim, the two kings agreed to prepare whatever was necessary for such an expedition. Provisions were made in the publick act above-mentioned for contingences that might happen, such as the death of either king on the road to Jerusalem, or one of them setting out for his pilgrimage thither before they had taken the cross. In the first of these cases, the liegemen who accompanied both kings were to swear, that they would serve the survivor, during his stay in the territories of the king of Jerusalem, with no less fidelity; than they would have served their own master, had he been living: and the money of the diseased, not otherwise disposed of before the beginning of their journey, was to be given to the survivor for the service intended to be done to religion. In the latter case, the king who stayed behind the other was to defend and protect the lands and

BOOK V.

A. D. 1177.

subjects of him who went before, as faithfully as he would his own. A free intercourse to the merchants, and other subjects of both kings, as well clergy as laymen, in their respective countries, was granted on both sides; but neither was to harbour an enemy of the other in any of his lands, after having been required to drive him out. They further expressed their intentions of chusing some persons, to whom, if they both should chance to die in the crusade, their money should be entrusted for the same use, and likewise the conduct and command of their forces. Lastly, they agreed, that they would, before they set out, when they had taken the cross, oblige those whom each of them should appoint to be governors and guardians of his territories during his absence, to bind themselves by an oath, that (if required) they would assist one another; so that Henry's vice-gerents should exert themselves to defend the dominions of Louis, as much as they would to defend the city of Rouen, if that was besieged; and the French should reciprocally defend those of Henry, in the same manner as they would the city of Paris.

These provisions were prudent; but the very want of them shews, what a folly it was for the sovereigns of great kingdoms to engage their own persons in these expeditions to countries so remote. It is true indeed that the growth of Saladin's power might give some alarm even to those Christian states that were
not

not his near neighbours; but the proper method to stop it from extending further Westward would have been to assist with subsidiary forces the empire of Constantinople, which formed the most natural barrier against it, and annex to *that* all the conquests which such aid might enable the Greek emperor to obtain in Asia or Ægypt. A naval league, for the guard of the Mediterranean sea, between the Greeks, the Sicilians, the Italian states, and the French, might have also been useful. But the object of zeal to the Christians of the Latin communion was as much to keep the Holy Land out of the hands of the Greeks, whom they abhorred as schismatics, as out of those of the infidels themselves. Motives of bigotry, not of policy, produced all those enterprizes, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the name of crusades, almost dispeopled Europe. With regard to this, in which Louis and Henry combined, the first was a volunteer, but the other obeyed the repeated injunctions of Rome, which had made it a condition of his reconciliation and peace with the church, that he should take the cross. If Pope Alexander had been now contending with an antipope, supported against him, as before, by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the whole Germanick body, he would not have suffered two kings, who favoured his cause, and whose protection he might want, to depart together, and leave him deprived of their aid, while

BOOK V. they and their armies were fighting in the East against Mahometans : but a series of disgraces which had attended the emperor's arms in Lombardy, since his return to that country in the autumn of the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, and a total defeat at Lignano near Pavia, on the twenty-eighth of June in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, had forced that prince, notwithstanding the greatness of his spirit, to submit to his fortune, and acknowledge Alexander as lawful head of the church. The conditions of this reconciliation were settled, before the end of this year, by ministers sent from him to treat with that pontiff; and the next summer they met, on the twenty-fourth of July, in the city of Venice, at the door of St. Mark's church; where the emperor, falling at the feet of the pope, as a penitent sinner, on account of the schism in which he had been engaged, was absolved by him, and received the kiss of peace: in return for which he paid to Alexander all the honours which his predecessors had used to pay to former popes. By the same agreement a truce of fifteen years was granted to the king of Sicily, Alexander's faithful ally, and of six to the Lombards. Peace being thus restored, it became the interest of the pope, that the kings of France and of England should take the cross: for, however detrimental crusades may have been to other Christian states, to the see of Rome they were always exceedingly gainful. Alexander

Sigonius de
Regno Ital.
l. xiv.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. i.
p. 154.
Sigonius ut
suprà.

ander therefore saw with pleasure, that the flame of enthusiasm was burning strong at this time in the bosom of Louis, and that he wished to begin another Holy War, forgetting the great mischiefs which his kingdom had suffered by the ill success of the former, or remembering them only to encrease his desire of pursuing the same purpose more fortunately now. Nor could the pontiff's sagacity overlook the advantage it would be to the church and see of Rome, that Henry should perform the whole penance enjoined him, in order to deter other kings, whose prerogatives clashed with any ecclesiastical or papal claims, from quarrelling with their bishops. We may also account, from the happy situation of Alexander's affairs in this year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, for his ordering his legate, in so peremptory a manner, to put Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he delayed his son's marriage; and for Henry's not daring to resent a proceeding so disagreeable to him, but promising to obey. That monarch could no longer avail himself of the menaces he had been used to throw out, that ill usage might force him to join with the emperor in supporting another pope, or of the fears which the coming of Frederick into Italy, at the head of an army, never failed to create in Alexander himself or the cardinals of his party. It may truly be said, that he and all other sovereigns then reigning in Europe, were, together with Frederick, thrown at the feet

BOOK V. of this triumphant pontiff. He therefore avoid-
 A. D. 1177. ed, as cautiously as he could, to contend
 with a power he now despaired to resist, especially on a matter where the king of France would have been a principal in the quarrel.

de /

All preliminaries relative to the crusade being settled, and peace with Louis secured, Henry sent into Berry his eldest son, the young king, at the head of an army, to recover a female ward, the daughter and heiress of Raoul, Deole, the richest baron of that province, whom her relations had taken into their custody, against the right of her lord. On the decease of her father, about the beginning of this year, the chief castle of the barony, named Chateauroux, had been yielded to this prince, who besieged it with the forces of Normandy and of Anjou; but the heiress, a child of three years old, had been carried away to La Châtre, by one of her family, and was still detained there; which obliged King Henry the elder, now when nothing of more moment demanded his care, to order his son, who had left his work imperfect, to carry his arms again into that country. Three or four weeks having past without their obtaining the desired success; he went himself with more troops, took possession of Chateauroux, which his son gave up to him, and marched from thence to La Châtre with intention to besiege it: but the lord of the castle, meeting him on his way, delivered to him the child, whom he sent to his fortress of Chinon in Anjou.

you. The barony of Chateauroux, in which was contained a great part of Berry, was an ancient appurtenance of the dutchy of Aquitaine; but what services were due from it to the king of France was one of those questions, which Louis and Henry had lately referred to an amicable arbitration. It seems there was no doubt of Henry's right to the custody of the lands and the heiress: for Louis did not complain of the force employed by him to obtain possession of them, while the other dispute was depending. This affair being ended, the king of England left Berry and went into the Limosin, where he proceeded judicially against the nobility and gentry of that province, whom he fined in proportion as each of them, on conviction, was found to deserve. The abbot of Peterborough says, this was done on account of their having taken part with his sons against him in the late intestine war: but there certainly must have been some more recent offences committed by these persons, which deprived them of the benefit of the amnesty granted to all the other rebels.

About the feast of St. Martin, Louis and Henry met again, to conclude another controversy concerning the feudal dependance of Auvergne, which, with that of Chateauroux and some smaller fiefs in Berry, had, by virtue of a clause in the late convention between them, been left to the decision of three bishops and three barons named therein by each king,

Benedict.
Abbas.

Benedict.

Abbas.

Robertus de Monte.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

Ibidem.

king, who were to enquire by themselves, and by the oaths of the principal men of those countries, into the rights of each claimant. All the nobles of Auvergne were summoned to this meeting; and Henry asked them, what right his predecessors, dukes of Aquitaine, had in Auvergne. They unanimously answered, that the whole province, except the bishoprick of Clermont, which belonged to the patronage of the king of France, had been subject, from old times, to the government of those princes. But Louis not being satisfied with this affirmation, the twelve arbitrators were directed to make a further enquiry, and both monarchs agreed to acquiesce in their verdict, which they swore to give without favour. This deserves observation, as it shews that inquisitions upon the oaths of twelve men were used in France at this time.

From this conference Henry went to Grammont in La Marche, where Audebert, earl of La Marche, a vassal of Aquitaine, having lost his only son, and desiring to dedicate the rest of his life to the service of God in the Holy Land, sold to that king the property of his county for fifteen thousand pounds of Angevin money, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys. This mode of devotion occasioned the reuniting of many large territories, by sales of a like nature, to the demesne of great princes.

After this acquisition, confirmed by the homage of the vassals of La Marche, earls, barons, and knights, which they paid to Henry,

as immediate lord of their fiefs, in the month of December, nothing happened of moment to the interests of that prince till the following summer, when the king of France, at his request, took all his dominions belonging to that kingdom under his own protection, in case of his going (as he intended to do) into England. This was extending the promise of mutual defence, which each had given to the other, beyond the former compact; and Henry's asking it proves, that some unquiet suspicions, remaining in his mind, made him afraid to leave his son, the young king, in France, without receiving from Louis, even during the time of his abode in England, this extraordinary security, which that monarch granted to him by a publick declaration. About the middle of July, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, he landed at Weymouth, from whence he proposed to go to Becket's tomb; (a pilgrimage now become habitual to him!) but being informed, on his way, that the Queen of France's brother, William, archbishop of Rheims, to which see he had lately been translated from Sens, was coming to Canterbury with the same intention, he staid in or about London till he heard of that prelate's being landed at Dover, and then went to meet him on his road to Canterbury, and conducted him to the tomb, where they joined in performing their devotions to Becket. William had been the most zealous friend of that prelate, and therefore Henry's most bitter and implacable

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

ad ann. 1178.

implacable enemy, in the whole realm of France. With how malignant a pleasure must he now have beheld the humbled king on his knees, before the dead corpse of a seditious subject, who had resisted his laws, insulted his authority, and offended his person!

This scene being ended, Henry knighted at Woodstock Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, who, to shew himself a good knight, passed over into Normandy, and held tournaments on the confines of that dutchy and France, in which he emulously strove to equal the reputation of his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, who were famous for their prowess in combats of this nature. A contemporary writer says, "there was in all these three
 "princes the same desire to excel in arms,
 "*which art was taught by these preludes.*"
 But Richard practised, with more glory, what his brothers were thus learning. For he took, this year, many towns and castles in Aquitaine, held against him by powerful and rebellious barons, among which was Taillebourg, belonging to Geoffry de Rançon, which had hitherto been esteemed an impregnable fortress. Having performed these exploits, to his father's great satisfaction, he waited on him in England, where one should have supposed that his long-expected marriage with Adelaïs of France would have now been accomplished: but Henry still put it off, without any pretence, at this time, to justify the delay, and notwithstanding the promise he lately had
 given

given to the pope and to Louis: so that **BOOK V.**
 Richard, after staying in the English court **A. D. 1178.**
 all the autumn, returned to Poitou unmarried.

At the beginning of the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, Henry being at Windsor, there came to him many Irish, complaining that Hugh de Lacy, Fitzaldelm, and others, whom he had set over them, made an unjust and violent use of their power. It has already been told, in what manner the administration of Ireland had been settled by the king in the parliament held at Oxford, about the middle of May in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, and how he had disposed of the principal fiefs and offices in that kingdom. But, in the following month of June, the earl of Cornwall's two brothers, and Josselin de Pumerai their nephew, came to him at Marlborough, and gave up the grant of the realm of Limerick (or North-Munster) which they had received from him and his son John, to be divided among them; because the country was yet to be won from the Irish, and they did not, on reflection, or on better information, think it prudent to engage in so hazardous an adventure. Nevertheless an English baron named Philip de Breuse, (or Braose) who had already some lands in the neighbourhood of that realm, received a grant of the whole, except the town of Limerick and territory about it, under the King and Prince John, to be held as a barony by the service

BOOK V. service of sixty knights. Before the end of

A. D. 1178.

Girald.

Cambr.

Hibern. Ex-

pugnat. l. ii.

c. 18.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

p. 204, 205.

Hibern. Ex-

pugnat. ut

suprà.

Hibern. Ex-

pugnat. ut

suprà.

the year Hugh de Lacy took possession of the royal city of Dublin, and entered upon his office of deputy or lieutenant to Henry in Ireland; besides holding in fee, under the king and his son, the entire province of Meath. A friendly partition was made, between Milo de Cogan and William Fitz-Stephen, of the kingdom of Cork (or South-Munster). The city of Wexford, with all Leinster, was under the custody of Robert Fitzaldelm; and Waterford, to which an ample territory belonged, was governed by Robert le Poer. Many English knights and squires had been sent into Ireland with and under these commanders, in addition to the troops which were before in that island. Through the terror of these forces the Irish king (or prince) of Desmond, and some other chiefs in those parts, who, while Lacy and the officers above-mentioned were absent, had begun to take up arms, were brought to lay them down, and suffer quietly the division of the kingdom of South-Munster between Cogan and Fitz-Stephen. This being finished, those two lords, at the head of their own vassals, went with Philip de Breuse, to help him to subdue the realm of Limerick (or North-Munster). He had also a band of his own, which, together with theirs, made a body of two hundred and twenty horse, besides many archers on foot. This army advanced to the margin of the Shannon, from whence Philip de Breuse taking

taking a view of the city on the other side BOOK V.
 of the water, and seeing that it had been set A.D. 1178.
 on fire by the Irish, declined the offer, which

his two confederates made him, of passing the river, with him, or of assisting him to build a fort on that side, which might bridle the town, and command the navigation, and from whence he might infest the neighbouring country. This despondency was not caused by want of courage in him; but by the advice of his friends, who thought it would be difficult for him and the soldiers serving under his banner, to maintain themselves in a land so hostile and remote from all the other English forts. Their opinion might be prudent; yet it was not in the spirit of the English chivalry, which had enabled a few adventurers of that nation, with infinite odds against them, to make and keep such great conquests in different parts of Ireland. The return of this army, without their having ventured to go over the Shannon, or do any brave act, brought some blemish on their glory in the minds of the Irish, and more especially on the character of Philip de Breuse, who had taken from King Henry a useless grant of lands, the possession of which he now despaired to acquire.

The transactions in Ulster, during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, were much more to the honour of the valiant John de Curcy. About the end of Hibern. Expugnata. l. ii. c. 16.
 the month of June he won a second victory

over

BOOK V. over the Irish of the province of Down, with a very small number against a great multitude, amounting (as it is said) to fifteen thousand men, and afterwards vanquished the people of Tirone and Monaghan in two successive engagements. But, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, having taken from the Irish of the country of Louth a vast booty of horned cattle, and driving them through narrow passes, he was attacked in those streights by Mac Dunlevy and O Carol, the chief potentates of Ulster, with such success, that, after many sharp conflicts, the frightened cattle trampling down and routing his soldiers, of whom many were slain and the rest dispersed in the woods, he and eleven of his horsemen made a wonderful retreat, in two days and two nights, without either food or rest, to his castle near Down-Patrick, pursued and harrassed by the enemy during their whole march, which was of thirty miles, and forced to walk under the heavy load of their armour, all their horses being killed long before they got thither. The conquests of Curcy were checked by the loss he had suffered; and, for some time afterwards, he could do no more than defend those districts of land, which he had secured by small forts and plantations of soldiers. Nor was any thing further attempted in the countries south of Ulster, by the English of those parts, during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, except the building of castles, which, however,

A. D. 1178,
Irish Annals.
Continuator
of Tygernach
MSS. ad ann.
1177.

Flanmer's
Chron. of
Ireland.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. ut su-
pra.

however, was a useful and necessary work, for BOOK V.
 the preservation of all that had before been A.D. 1179.
 gained.

On what grounds the complaints brought to Henry by the Irish, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, were founded, history Benedict. Abbas, t. i. p. 287, 288. does not inform us; but we are told, the impression they made on him was such, that Lacy and Fitzaldelm lost his favour a long time on that account; and it may be presumed he redressed the wrongs they had done; but yet he did not recall either of them from Ireland.

While the king was at Windsor, the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, with five or six Hoveden, ad ann. 1179. Irish bishops, came to ask his permission to go Benedict. Abbas. into Italy to a general council, which pope Alexander the Third had summoned to assemble in the Lateran church at Rome. The submission of the emperor Frederick to this pontiff having induced the forsaken and now despairing antipope, Calixtus the Third, to kiss the foot of his adversary and implore his forgiveness, on the twenty-ninth day of August in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, Alexander thought it was expedient to give laws to the church at the head of a synod subjected to his will, and accordingly sent his orders, into most parts of Europe, for the convening thereof on the first Sunday in Lent of the following year. These were brought into England by a legate *à latere*: and another, whose commission was to Gallo-

for himself

BOOK V.

A. D. 1179.
Benedict,
Abbas, t. i.
p. 269, 270.

Hoveden.

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 2.
Diceto, col.
603.
Benedict.
Abbas.

way, Scotland, Ireland, and the isle of Man, passed through England in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight, but could not obtain the king's permission to do it, without taking an oath, that he would return through that kingdom, and would not do any thing to the prejudice of it in the course of his legation. A like security was required, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, from the prelates of those countries, in their passage through England. From that kingdom many abbots, but only four bishops (namely those of Durham, Oxford, Hereford, and Bath) were deputed. Hoveden says, the English bishops asserted it as a right, that no more should be ever sent to any general council. But many more were now summoned, and some who from age, or infirmity, or other sufficient excuses, were manifestly unable to take such a journey. These were forced to redeem themselves by sums of money extorted most scandalously from them; and this method of filling the treasury of the pope is complained of in strong terms, even by the monks who then wrote. It is indeed very wonderful to see what a number of extraordinary ways and means the inexhaustible invention of the court of Rome found out, to supply its avarice, in those days! But the clergy had no right to murmur at a tyranny which they themselves had set up and continued to maintain against the civil powers.

OF KING HENRY II.

At this council (the third of those called **BOOK V.** Lateran) which met on the fifth of March in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, three hundred bishops were present. The pope presided over them, in the highest pride of his power, attended by all the college of cardinals, by the senators and chief magistrates of Rome, and by embassadors from the emperor and most of the kings and princes of the Latin communion.

His first object was, to settle the manner of electing future popes, for the prevention of schisms: and it was therefore ordained, by one of the canons here made, that, henceforth, the concurrence of two thirds of the electors should be necessary to make a lawful pope: but the same canon declares, "that in the elections of all other bishops a majority of votes should suffice; because, there, any doubt concerning the number or legality of the votes might be decided by the judgement of a superior; *but, in what concerned the see of Rome, recourse could not be had to any superior.*"

This assertion entirely overturned the right, claimed and exercised by all the princes in Europe, even during the long schism preceding this council, to judge by national synods of controverted elections of the bishops of Rome; and established in that see a total independence on all other powers, civil or ecclesiastical.



Alexander's next object was, to confirm and secure to the body of the clergy their claim of exemption from all secular burthens and secular jurisdiction. He therefore forbade, by the authority of this council, all rulers and magistrates, under the penalty of excommunication, to lay any taxes on the lands of the clergy, or take any thing from them, unless by the voluntary consent of the bishops and clergy themselves, when they saw the necessity or expediency of relieving the publick wants, and where it appeared that the abilities of the laity could not suffice to answer the demand.

Another canon excommunicated any lay person, who should presume to judge a bishop, or any ecclesiastick.

Thus were the highest and most inalienable rights of civil government taken from it, by the decrees of this council, without opposition on the part of the many sovereign princes, whose embassadors were present and represented them there!

As the spirit of dominion in the Roman pontificate, and in the whole popish clergy, has been always attended by it's guard and support, the spirit of persecution, this assembly was careful to enforce the anathemas of the council of Tours, against the sect which had lately discovered itself in the city and district of Toulouse, from whence it had spread so far, and with so quick an encrease, that, the year before this, the kings of France and of England, in a council held on that subject,

subject, had been induced, at the instigations of a cardinal-legate, and of many of their bishops, to resolve to go and subdue these enemies to the church (of whose doctrines some account has already been given in a former part of this work) by force of arms. But they afterwards thought it better to commission the legate, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, the bishops of Bath and Poitiers, the abbot of Clairvaux, and many other churchmen, in conjunction with the earl of Toulouse himself and other nobles the most powerful in the southern parts of France, to enquire after them, and convert them to the catholick faith, or drive them out of those countries.

The first proceedings of these inquisitorial commissioners began at Toulouse, where they apprehended a gentleman of considerable wealth, who was the lord of two castles, one within the city walls and one without, on information that he had, before their arrival, openly been of that sect which they came to extirpate, though he had since, through fear of them, professed himself a good catholick. On examination, the legate and bishops declared him a manifest heretick, and gave sentence that his whole estate should be forfeited, and his castles demolished. To prevent the execution of this decree, he threw himself at their feet, and implored them to forgive and instruct him in the faith he ought to receive. Whereupon they commanded him,

^{Benedict.}
Abbas, t. i.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1179.

as a penance for the errors into which he had fallen, to be whipt through all the streets and alleys of the city. He submitted to this inhuman discipline, and then made, in their presence, a publick profession of the Roman-catholick faith; yet they would not absolve him, without his promising to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not return into France before the end of three years. This condition being also agreed to by him, they interceded with his lord, the earl of Toulouse, that he might be allowed, when the term of his pilgrimage was fulfilled, to dwell in peace at Toulouse, and that, on paying a fine of five hundred pounds to the earl, all his possessions should be then restored to him, except his two castles, which (as a memorial of the infamy incurred by his heresy) should be levelled to the ground.

Benedict.
Abbas, ut
suprà.

The terror of this example brought many other hereticks to make a secret and voluntary confession of their errors to the legate and bishops, from whom they obtained absolution. But some of the chief preachers and directors of the sect, whom the earl of Toulouse and other noblemen of those parts had expelled from their territories, having appealed to the legate, and desiring to be heard before him and the bishops joined in commission with him, in order to clear themselves of the heresies they were charged with, a safe conduct was granted to them, and they were ordered to make a profession of their faith in St. Stephen's church at Toulouse. On the morning of the day appointed

pointed for this act, they delivered and read to the legate and bishops a written declaration of the several articles of their belief in the vulgar tongue of their country. But those prelates required them to give an account of their faith in Latin, because they did not perfectly understand the dialect used in those parts, *and because* (says the legate in a narrative which he published of what passed on this occasion) *the gospels and epistles, to which they affirmed that their faith was conformable, were written in Latin.* Yet, their ignorance of that language appearing to be such, as that one of them, who attempted to speak for them in it, was unable to go on, the prelates condescended to hear them in their own. The declaration they made was perfectly agreeable to the doctrines of Rome; and they were therefore allowed to repeat it in the church, where the earl of Toulouse and a great congregation of laymen and priests were assembled. When they had been patiently heard, the legate demanded of them, whether they really believed in their hearts what they had declared with their mouths; and whether they never had preached any doctrines repugnant thereunto? They affirmed their sincerity, and denied the having preached any contrary doctrines. Whereupon many persons, both ecclesiasticks and laymen, in which number was the earl of Toulouse himself, stood up and asserted their knowledge of the falshood of this denial. Some maintained their having heard

BOOK V. from several of these men, that there are **two**
A. D. 1179. Gods, one good, the other evil, the former of whom had made only the invisible, the latter the visible world. Others affirmed, they had heard them publicly preach, that the body of Christ could not be made by the ministry of a criminal priest. Many attested their having heard them deny, that married persons, performing the duties of that state, could be saved. Others deposed, that they had heard them say, baptism was useless to infants, and many other things, which the legate suppressed in the narrative which he published, on account (as he says) of their abominable enormity. Nevertheless, as they still continued to insist on the truth and sincerity of their declaration; the legate required them to confirm it by an oath; which they obstinately refused, as forbidden by Christ in that precept of the gospel, *Swear not at all.* This their judges considered as a proof of their heresy; and the other testimonies appearing sufficient to convict them, and more witnesses offering to depose against them, they were admonished by the legate to acknowledge their errors and be reconciled to the church; but they refused so to do. Hereupon they were solemnly excommunicated by the legate; and if they should, for the future, presume to preach any doctrine contrary to the profession they had made of their faith before this assembly, all good catholicks, who should hear them, were ordered to expell them from their society. They would hardly have
been

been suffered to escape at this time without corporal punishment, if the safe-conduct, granted to them by the earl of Toulouse and the legate, had not protected them.

It appears, I think, very clearly, from the legate's whole account of this extraordinary proceeding, that these were not of the sect known by the name of Vaudois, (as some modern writers suppose) but were *Cathari* (or Puritans), called also *Bonshommes*, and *Publicans* and *Paterini*, who held many tenets of the Manichæan hereticks, mixed with other opinions, common to them and the Vaudois, against the doctrines, and hierarchy, and superstitious practices of the church of Rome. For it is certain, the latter were entirely free from the Manichæan errors, and would not have consented to a publick confession of the Roman-catholick doctrines, as the true Christian faith, even to save their own lives. But we know from other accounts, that the *Cathari* thought it lawful to dissemble in these points, and had secret or inward doctrines. It seems indeed, from what happened in this examination, that they scrupled to *swear* to their belief of opinions which they falsely professed: yet at the end of their written declaration of their faith they had inserted these words, "*In truth, which is God, we thus believe, and say that this is our faith;*" which (as the legate observes) is really an oath! One cannot wonder that such illiterate men, preaching what they themselves had only learnt from traditions ob-
scurely

scurely handed down, should fall into great inconsistencies and absurdities; nor that many of their sect should differ from each other in articles of belief. I will only add, that notwithstanding the severe inquisition carried on at this time, we do not find that a single evidence of any criminal act, punishable by the lay courts, was brought against any of them: which affords a strong presumption of an extraordinary innocence in their course of life, or, at least, that their vices were most cautiously hidden by the discipline they observed among themselves, however abominable some of the opinions they held might be.

Nothing further was done in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, or after that time, by the commissioners above-mentioned; yet it appears that the business on which they were sent was far from being accomplished: for, the next year, it seemed necessary to the Lateran council, that a canon should be made, to excommunicate all the *Catbari* in the southern parts of France, as audacious hereticks, who openly propagated their notions, and likewise *all who afforded them harbour or protection in their houses or lands, or carried on traffick with them*; declaring, that any persons who should die in that sin should have no benefit from any indulgence granted to them, or from any oblation made for them, nor be allowed christian burial.

If the opinions of these *Catbari* were really such as we find them represented, it must be
con-

confessed that the spiritual censures of the church were not unjustly or improperly denounced against them: but the endeavouring to take from them all necessary means of procuring a subsistence, and so destroying their lives, was a cruelty as repugnant to the spirit of christianity, as the worst errors into which their ignorance and simplicity had unhappily been betrayed. It is also certain that many who held none of those errors, but only joined them in opposing the flagrant corruptions of the church of Rome, were in the following century confounded with them, and involved in the massacre, which, under the orders of Simon de Montfort, the general of the pope, deluged all the south of France with innocent blood.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1179.

A much more justifiable crusade was set on foot by this council against the Brabanters, who, after King Henry had dismissed them from his service, (which, to his honour, he did as soon as ever the peace with his sons was concluded) had joined other bands of mercenaries and freebooters, in Biscaye, Navarre, and the confines of Arragon, where they committed all kinds of depredations and villanies, not sparing even convents or the persons of the clergy, which last offence drew upon them the particular indignation of this assembly of prelates, who excommunicated them with all their favourers and abettors, confiscated all their goods, permitted princes to reduce them to a state of slavery, and excited all Christians to take

Benedict.
Abbas, ut supra.

BOOK V. take up arms against them, by granting to those who should engage in this warfare the privileges and indulgences annexed to the visitation of the holy sepulchre of Christ.

Benedict.
Abbas, ut
suprà.

Other canons were made, to separate the clergy more and more from the laity, to put them under a stricter ecclesiastical discipline, and to remedy some abuses and scandals prevailing at that time in the church. There was one against *pluralities*, which might have been of good use, if it had not been relaxed by papal dispensations, and rendered of no benefit, unless to fill the pope's coffers by the influx of money, with which the liberty to hold any number of benefices was frequently purchased.

In relating the affairs of the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, I mentioned a synod which the archbishop of Canterbury held at Westminster, on ecclesiastical matters, with King Henry's permission. Several canons, collected from different foreign councils; some ancient and some modern, or from papal decrees and epistles, were, by this assembly, ingrafted into our constitution. One of these, which was taken from a decretal epistle of Pope Alexander the Third to the bishop of Worcester, obliged all clergymen, not below the degree of sub-deacons, if they married in that state, to put away their wives, however unwilling; and denied to those of an inferior degree, who were married, any benefice in the church. It likewise forbade the sons of parish-priests to succeed to their fathers in their parsonages;

Benedict.
Abbas, t. i. ad
ann. 1175.

sonages; which shews that till then it was not unusual in England for priests to have sons, and provide for them in that manner. But, to check the licentiousness which naturally sprung from the forced celibacy of the clergy, it was enacted, that any beneficed clergyman who publicly kept a concubine, if he would not part from her after a third admonition, should be punished by deprivation. Clandestine marriages were forbidden, under the penalty of three years suspension to the priest officiating in them; and marriages made in the infancy of both or either of the parties, were also prohibited, unless they should be necessary as a bond of peace between princes; in which case they were *tolerated*, yet so as to have no effect, if both the parties, when they came to an age of discretion, did not consent thereunto; without which, it was expressly declared by this canon, no marriage could be good. Others were enacted, to regulate the apparel of the clergy, to keep them out of taverns, to prevent their bearing of arms, and to confirm one, received before in this realm, which forbade them to judge in any criminal cause, where the sentence might extend to the shedding of blood. This now was enforced, by declaring that whoever offended against it should be deprived of his orders. It was also forbidden, under the penalty of excommunication, that any priest should accept the office of a sheriff, or other president in any secular court. The general council of Lateran, in the year eleven hundred

BOOK V.

A. D. 1179.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i.

Col. 606.
inter Decem
Script.

Epist. 95.

and seventy-nine, went further still, and declared, that no clergyman should presume to be an advocate in any secular cause, unless he pleaded for himself, or for the church, or, out of charity, for the poor; and that none should execute the office of justiciary to a prince or secular person, under the penalty of losing the ecclesiastical ministry which he thus neglected. Nevertheless it appears, that, even after this canon had been promulged, in the same year, eleven hundred and seventy-nine, the bishops of Salisbury, Norwich, and Ely, presided in the king's court, as chief justices of the realm; for which Radulf de Diceto, a contemporary writer, apologizes in his annals, as done with a good intent, and for the better administration of the publick justice, though contrary to the canons.

There is some reason to think, that one cause of King Henry's appointing these prelates to the office above-mentioned was a letter written to him, about this time, by Peter of Blois, complaining of abuses and oppressions of the poor in the sheriff's courts and forest courts, and even of some errors, partialities, and corruptions, in the inquests which the king's itinerant justices made in their circuits; for the remedying of which this well-intentioned monitor exhorted that prince, with a most laudable zeal, to give a careful attention to the choice of all those whom he entrusted with any judicial offices.

One might suppose from the words of Abbot Benedict, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, the king, on account of the burthenfome charges, which the too great number of his itinerant justices brought on his people, had put a stop to their circuits, and had ordered that all suits, which used to be heard before them, should be tried by five judges, resident in his own court, and chosen out of his own household; three of which number were churchmen. But it appears by the rolls of the years eleven hundred and seventy-eight and eleven hundred and seventy-nine, that pleas were held in those years by itinerant justices, as before, through all the English counties; and among those justices none of the clergy are mentioned. Yet the testimony of this historian and of Hoveden, not being contradicted by the evidence of records, may establish the belief that the kingdom was divided into four circuits, instead of six, by the king, with the advice and consent of parliament, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine; though the names of the justices who went those circuits, and the counties assigned to them, are not the same in their accounts as in the rolls. And we know by other proofs, that the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Norwich, were in that year chief justices (*archi-justitiiarii*) in the king's court. For, besides that this fact is positively affirmed by Radulf de Diceto, there is extant a letter, from Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to the pope, which shews that

A. D. 1179.
T. i. p. 264.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,

Apud Decem
Script. col.
606.

Petri Blesensis
Epist. 84.

complaints

complaints had been carried to that pontiff against those three prelates, for having taken on themselves this secular charge, to the utter neglect of their spiritual duties, and from a sinful love of gain. They moreover were accused of having even interfered in cases of blood; on which account they were forced, *as men of blood*, to abstain from the sacrament of the Lord's supper and other sacred functions. It also appears that the pope had threatened the archbishop to punish him, if he did not punish them according to the canons. The truth of the accusation with respect to their interfering in cases of blood, and entirely neglecting their episcopal duties, was denied by the primate: but he acknowledged and justified their attendance on the king in secular business, observing "that for bishops to be present and assistant in councils of kings was no new thing; because, as they excelled others in virtue and wisdom, so they were thought to proceed with more readiness and efficiency in the administration of the publick weal." He cited several precedents out of the Old Testament, to prove that priests had interfered, with great benefit to the state, in the business of kingdoms; and added, "that, if the above-mentioned bishops had not been counsellors and intimate friends to the king, the presumption of the laity would have greatly oppressed the church; but now, through their credit and mediation with him, attempts against it were defeated by the aid of the civil power; the

" anger

anger of the king and the rigour of justice against the harmless or the simple were properly mitigated; the suits of the poor were heard; their indigence was relieved; the dignity of the church was exalted; the liberty of the clergy was confirmed; the people enjoyed peace; the monasteries quiet; justice was administered freely; pride was depressed; the devotion of the laity was augmented; religion was cherished; the canon laws and decrees of Rome were accepted and enforced; the possessions of the church were enlarged. Nor did these prelates fail to attend divine worship in their several cathedrals on days of great solemnity: whereas the bishops in Sicily did not stir from the court for ten years together; which excessive attachment to it, the archbishop told the pope, he would wish to restrain in those of his province: but their cohabitation with the king seemed expedient to wise and prudent men for the reasons before given; and therefore, even if they, on account of the many and great inconveniencies of such a course of life, should most earnestly desire to withdraw themselves from it, they ought to be forced, by the common advice of their brethren, to continue in it, for the sake of publick utility and the service of the church."

Indeed the point was perplexing; for, if, on one side, to separate the church from the state, and to disentangle the clergy from all civil

BOOK V.

A. D. 1179.

connexions, was of very important use to the monarchy of the pope; on the other, to take from them all civil jurisdiction, and exclude them from the councils and courts of kings, was very dangerous to the power and interests of the church in the several Christian states. A medium therefore was observed: the canons which confined them to their spiritual functions, and to the exercise of their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not repealed; but the violation of them was connived at, as the expediency of affairs, the ambition of churchmen, and the policy of the see of Rome, occasionally required. Radulf de Diceto affirms, that the English prelates above-mentioned heard only such causes in the king's court as did not tend to bring on any shedding of blood: but it appears, from a treatise of Peter de Blois on the office of a bishop, written after this time, that the English clergy supposed, they satisfied the obligation laid upon them by the canons not to interfere in such causes, by withdrawing themselves when a sentence of death or loss of limbs was pronounced, and from the execution thereof; which evasion he censures as a damnable sin: and certainly it was not according to the letter or spirit of those laws, which they had acknowledged and caused to be received in this kingdom.

Col. 606.
apud Decem
Scriptores.

Petri Blef.
Epist. 73.
V. Append.

But there is extant a most remarkable letter; written to the three bishops, of Winchester, Norwich, and Ely, by the archbishop of Canterbury, about this time, in which he ex-
horts

horts them to use their utmost endeavours to abolish a most pernicious custom, which had prevailed in the church of England for some time past. "If (says he) a Jew, or the

BOOK V.

A. D. 1179.

"meanest layman, be murdered, sentence of death is immediately pronounced against the murderer; but, if a clergyman of whatever rank be murdered, the church, content with excommunicating the murderer, does not call in the help of the material sword." He then observes, "that Peter's sword, being grown rusty, and no longer able to cut, was despised."

The consequences of this state of things he describes in very strong colours. "If (says he) a goat or sheep be stolen or killed, he who is found guilty of it, or confesses the deed, is sentenced to be hanged: but the murderers of a clergyman, or even of a bishop, are sent to Rome, and, after a pleasant journey thither, return from thence with the fullness of apostolical favour, and a greater boldness in sinning. *The king claims to himself the vengeance of such enormous crimes; but we, at the risk of our eternal salvation, reserve it to ourselves; the effect of which is, that impunity is established, and the swords of the laity are whetted by us against our own throats.*" Of this the archbishop gives a shocking instance.

"A priest at Winchester (says that prelate) of good reputation for his learning and morals, was lately murdered maliciously by William

BOOK V. " Frechet and his wife; nor do they deny the
 A: D. 1179. " fact; but they are setting out to go to the
 " court of Rome: for the husband confides in
 " the beauty of his wife, and proposes, by
 " prostituting her in his journey, to bring back
 " great profits, besides the benefit of absolution
 " from Rome. It is ignominious that the kill-
 " ing of a goat or a sheep should be punished
 " with more severity than the killing of a priest.
 " *But we deserve this and worse, because, with*
 " *a rash ambition, we usurp a jurisdiction be-*
 " *longing to another, and to which we have not*
 " *the least title.*"

This proposition, so contrary to the tenets of Becket, he supports by strong reasons, by clear authorities from the scriptures, by canons of councils, by citations from the fathers, and even from the epistles of some of the more ancient popes, after which he concludes with this exhortation, "*Rendering therefore unto God the things which are God's, and unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, let us, according to the king's request, leave to him the vengeance of such heinous offences.*"

From this letter, of which a transcript is given in the appendix to this book, it evidently appears, that the promises made to cardinal Huguzon and the pope, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, by the king, had not taken effect; but that he was endeavouring, with the help of the archbishop of Canterbury and the three prelates above-named, to exercise the jurisdiction of his own royal courts over all murderers

murderers without exception, and bring the clergy to agree, for the sake of their own safety, to give up the pretended privilege of the church, which exempted them from his justice in criminal cases of so atrocious a nature. Yet we find by a letter from Alexander to the bishops of London and Winchester, dated the first of October in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, that the agreement between the king and him, of which Huguzon had been the negociator, was so far ratified on his part, as to procure from him an acknowledgment of the right of the king to try in his civil courts all causes relating to possessions, not excepting those in which the church was concerned. But his holiness had not granted, nor shewn any disposition ever to grant, what Gervase of Canterbury says was the principal object which that prince had in view, when he desired that Huguzon might be sent to him, namely, a divorce, by the authority of the see of Rome, from Eleanor, his wife. And this probably was the cause why the king now departed from what had then been settled between him and the legate, and sought to regain a more compleat jurisdiction over the clergy in criminal matters, than his promises to the pope would have allowed, if the secret article, on which the negociation was founded, had not been refused by that pontiff.

After the parliament held at Windsor in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, by which the realm was divided into four circuits,

and at which were present the young king, who came over from France for that purpose, and Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, Henry ordered the latter to go into that dutchy, and redice too bedience a revolted baron; which, as his first essay in war, he performed with alacrity, and obtained by his valour the esteem of the Bretons.

The king of France was now busied in making preparations for an act of importance. The resolution he had taken, in concert with Henry, to go to the Holy War, made him think it advisable to provide for the government of the realm in his absence, and to secure the succession in case of his death, by crowning his son Philip, who, being now in the fifteenth year of his age, and of an understanding matured beyond the usual degree, was capable of performing the functions of royalty with the help of a council. He therefore summoned all his spiritual and temporal nobles to attend him at Rheims, on the fifteenth of August: but, a little before that day came, the young prince, who was hunting in the forest of Compeigne, by some accident separated himself in the chase from all his attendants, and wandered on horseback the whole night about the woods. This unusual fatigue, and a kind of horror excited by the melancholy solitude and gloom of the forest, threw him into an illness, so dangerous, that his father, despairing of relief from any human assistance, had recourse to that of Becket, whose miracles he believed with unsuspecting

Robertus de
Monte.
Pere Daniel,
Hist. de
France.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.
Gervase.

suspecting faith; and, to obtain for his son the powerful intercession of this reputed saint, did not rely on the favours he had formerly done him, when an exile in France, but vowed to go in pilgrimage to his tomb at Canterbury, and make offerings there. Some of his council objected to this design, on account of the danger of his putting himself in the power of a king whom he had so much offended; but had there been greater cause to apprehend such a danger than there really was, his mind was inflexible in all resolutions where his bigotry was concerned. Having asked and obtained a safe conduct, he took with him the earl of Flanders, and several other great nobles, and arrived at Dover on the twenty-second of August. King Henry rode all night, from another part of the coast, to be present at his landing, received him on the shore with all possible honours, and conducted him, the next day, to the tomb of the primate, on which, after they had joined in devotions before it, a cup, or chalice, of gold was offered by Louis. He likewise gave to the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury a perpetual yearly present of a hundred tons of French wine, besides exemption from all duties on whatever should be purchased in his realm for their use; both which grants he declared and confirmed by a charter. On the third day he departed, and was attended by Henry as far as to Dover. In the mean time his son mended; and he received the good news, as soon as he came into France, of all danger to

the life of that prince being past. This established the fame of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and greatly increased the superstitious resort of pilgrims to his tomb. But Louis, soon afterwards, going to St. Denis, with intent to perform there new acts of devotion, had a stroke of a palsy, which took from him the use of his right side; so that he could not be present at his son's coronation. The ceremony was performed at Rheims on the feast of All Saints in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. The young king Henry was present; and Philip being oppressed under the weight of his crown, from the tenderness of his age, and a weakness occasioned by his late fit of sickness, Henry helped to sustain it, "intending thereby (says Diceto) to shew the French, that he would in like manner, if his aid should be necessary, support their realm." He might possibly have worn the crown he sustained, if Philip had died (as he was very near doing) about ten weeks before. But, that hope having failed, it would have been better for this prince, in consideration of his own royal dignity, to have absented himself from this coronation, that any act of respect, or ministerial office, performed by him there as seneschall of France, and on account of the fiefs which he held in that kingdom, or to which he was heir apparent, might not seem to affect the sovereignty of England.

In the month of July, this year, died **BOOK V.**
 Richard de Lucy, who had retired, some **A. D. 1179.**
 months before his decease, into an abbey of **Gervase,**
 canons regular, founded by himself, and had **Chron.**
 taken their habit, notwithstanding the most
 pressing entreaties of Henry, who was un- **Benedict.**
 willing to lose the service of a minister so **Abbas, t. i,**
 faithful and so useful. The notions of those **p. 316.**
 times made even the wisest men believe, that
 to die in a convent was almost a necessary
 means of salvation! On his retreat, the high
 office of grand justiciary of England was joint-
 ly exercised by the bishops of Winchester,
 Ely, and Norwich, assisted by some lay-
 assessors in that court. Among these, the
 most eminent was Ranulf de Glanville, who,
 the following year, was made grand justiciary,
 and in whom, as in Lucy, the abilities of a
 lawyer and a soldier were united.

It may be proper to observe, that, in the **Epist. 95, ad**
 letter before cited from Peter of Blois to the **Hen. Regem,**
 king, that writer gave a very fair and honour-
 able testimony to the justice of the king's court,
 whilst he complained of abuses and corruptions
 in others, particularly in those of the sheriffs
 and the barons. "If causes (says he) are tried
 "in the presence of your highness, or your
 "chief justiciary, there neither gifts nor par-
 "tiality are admitted; there all things proceed
 "according to the rules of judgement and
 "justice; nor does ever the sentence or decree
 "transgress the limits of equity." But he re-
 marks to the king, "That the great men of
 "his

“his kingdom, though full of hatred, and
 “enmity against each other, yet united, to
 “prevent the complaints of the people against
 “the exactions of sheriffs, or other officers
 “in any inferior jurisdictions, whom any of
 “them had recommended or patronized, from
 “coming to his ears; so that, in such cases,
 “the worst enemy of the party accused would
 “become his defender.” And he compares
 this combination for mutual support “to the
 “conjunction of scales on the back of the cro-
 “codile or Behemoth of the scriptures, which
 “fold over each other, and form by their
 “closeness an impenetrable defence.”

Diceto, col.
607.

Powel's
Welsh Chro-
nicle.

The justice of Henry was displayed this year
 in South Wales, very much to his honour.
 Cadwallon, who was uncle to David ap Owen,
 and had a lordship or small principality in that
 country near the English borders, having come
 to the king's court, either to ask protection,
 (as the Welsh Chronicle says) or to answer for
 offences, (as Diceto affirms) and returning
 home under the guard of Henry's safe-conduct,
 was murdered on his way by some English of
 the marches, in revenge of the depredations he
 had made on their lands, and the blood he had
 shed by frequent hostilities, which Henry had
 pardoned as included in the amnesty, granted
 to him and the other lords of South Wales, at
 the intercession of prince Rhees, in the year
 eleven hundred and seventy-one. However just
 their resentments against him may have been,
 the killing him in this manner, and violating

a safe-conduct given by the king, as he returned from his court, was an offence which the justice and majesty of the crown were equally bound to punish. Accordingly Henry put to death, by the hands of the hangman, all concerned in this murder, except a few who escaped by flying into the woods, where they led a wretched life, as fugitives and outlaws. Why he did not also punish William de Breuse, lord of Brecknock, who, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five or (as some say) seventy-six, had slain many Welshmen in Abergavenny castle, of which he was governor, we are not well informed. It is said by Diceto, that having invited them thither, in order to notify to them an act of the parliament of England, by which they were forbidden to go from home armed with bows, or sharp-pointed knives, he there condemned them to death for refusing to obey, and executed the sentence by a number of soldiers, brought into his fort for that purpose. But he used this pretence to avenge the blood of his uncle, Henry de Hereford, whom, not long before, they had murdered. The Welsh Chronicle adds, that he took out of her house the wife of a nobleman, who, together with one of their sons, had been put to death in the castle, killed another of their sons before her face, and levelled the house to the ground. There must, I presume, have been some extraordinary cause, not mentioned by these writers, which could prevail upon Henry to overlook or forgive such deeds as these, and could hinder

Diceto, ut
suprà.

Imag. Hist.
ad ann. 1175.

BOOK V. hinder the Welsh nation from taking revenge,
 A. D. 1179. by force of arms, to which they had always
 recourse when the justice of the crown was denied or delayed, and, often, without waiting for any other redress.

Benedict.
 Abbas, ad
 anr. 1180.

The palsy of Louis, which disabled him from attending to any publick affairs, and the coronation of his son, produced such alterations in the state of the French court, as appeared very favourable to Henry's importance and credit in the kingdom. For there presently arose a competition for power between the mother and uncles of Philip on one side, and the earl of Flanders on the other: the former desiring to retain the administration, with which they had been intrusted for some time past, and the latter having artfully gained an ascendant over the mind of that king, by infusing into it a jealousy of their purpose, to keep him still, as a child, under their controul and tuition, notwithstanding his having assumed the government. The contest grew to such a height, and the alienation of Philip's esteem and affection from these his nearest relations appeared so alarming, that it drove them, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, to implore Henry's aid against the earl. They had acted the part of friendly intercessors in his late disputes with Louis; and his safety required, that the direction of all the power of France should not be in the hands of so formidable a neighbour to England and Normandy, as the lord of the earldoms of Flanders and Boulogne.

He

He therefore inclined to their party, and had a meeting at Rouen with the queen of France and her brothers, in which he took pledges of them, that they should act by his advice, and covenanted to aid them, not only with the forces of his Norman dominions, but also with troops out of England. Philip, hearing of this league, commanded likewise that an army should be instantly raised in his territories for his service; but, while the levies were making, he suddenly went to Bapaume, and there married the daughter of the earl of Hainault, who was niece to the earl of Flanders. This new bond of alliance, thus indissolubly formed between him and that prince, quite confounded the designs of the opposite faction, and made Henry think it better to mediate for his friends, than attempt to support their cause by arms. Philip's good understanding was easily brought to see, that the dissention between his mother and him could not be ended too soon. He therefore yielded, in a conference with Henry on that subject at the castle of Gisors, to pay her a pension of seven pounds a day, Paris money, during the life of his father, and after that monarch's death to put her in possession of all the lands of her dower, reserving to himself the fortresses built thereon, that they might not be rendered, in the hands of her party, a means of disturbing the future peace of his realm. Her brothers, and other lords confederated with her, who had left his court in disgust, or had been driven

V. G. Cam-
brenf. de In-
structione
Principis.
Cotton MSS.
Julius B. xiii.

driven from it, were to be restored to his fa-
vour; and the earl of Flanders was to hold
the same power and pre-eminence which he
(Philip) had before conferred on that prince.
Thus, by Henry's good offices, the discord
which was arming the French royal family
against itself, and had almost produced a very
unnatural war, was prudently stopt and ex-
tinguished. In a letter written by that king
to Ranulph de Glanville, on the subject of this
peace, he says "*it was made entirely according
to his will, and much to his honour, and to
the future security of himself and his sons.*"
But it was not very pleasing to the earl of
Flanders, who feared that the queen-mother's
return to court, and the credit which Henry
had acquired with her son in negotiating this
treaty, would soon lessen his power. Never-
theless he dissembled, and renewing his sub-
sidiary convention with Henry did homage to
that king, as he often had done before. The
foederal compact made in the year eleven hun-
dred and seventy between Louis and Henry,
for the mutual protection of their territories in
France, and for referring all matters in dispute
to the judgement of arbitrators there named, was
also renewed and confirmed. The only difference
was, that Philip did not in this, as Louis had
done in that, declare a positive promise, solemnly
ratified by an oath, to take the cross. But it was
understood that, whenever his affairs would
permit, he intended to do it, and that Henry
had the same purpose.

On

On the eighteenth of September, died at Paris King Louis, the seventh of that name, in the seventieth year of his age. The good qualities of that prince had been miserably depraved by a narrow understanding. This turned his piety into bigotry, his courage into knight-errantry, his honesty into weakness, and sometimes even betrayed him, in his political conduct, into very immoral acts, whilst in trifles his conscience was scrupulous to excess. History therefore cannot rank him in the catalogue of great kings, or even of virtuous men: but it is surprising that Rome did not place him in the calendar among her saints; for he deserved it by all the qualifications which in those times could entitle a prince to that honour; by exposing his life in a crusade, by implicit submission to the papal authority, by taking part in a schism with that candidate for the papacy who had the good fortune to overcome his opponents, and by sacrificing to an ignorant zeal for the church important rights of his crown.

The exaltation of Philip to the royal dignity, before his father's death, had secured the succession against any possibility of a dispute; and, the troubles in his court being also composed by Henry's mediation, all was quiet in France: but in Germany Henry's son-in-law, the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had been lately put under the ban of the empire. The chief cause of this thunderbolt's falling on that prince, was his having withdrawn his person
and

BOOK V.

A. D. 1180.

Sigonius de

regno Italia,

ad ann. 1175.

Rimius, Me-
moirs of the
house of
Brunswick.Annales de
Paderborn, ad
ann. 1179.Histoire
d'Allemagne,
par le Pere
Barre.

and troops from the imperial army in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, when the emperor was sustaining a dangerous war against the people of Milan and other rebellious Lombards. He pleaded the fear of an excommunication from Alexander the Third: but he himself, in concurrence with the whole Germanick body, had always denied the authority of that pontiff; and this was an ill time to begin to stand in awe of his spiritual censures. Another and better excuse was the intelligence received by him, that the Eastern Venedi, inhabitants of Pomerania, had rebelled and made inroads into the lower Saxony: yet this also was too slight to justify his deserting the emperor's service; his lieutenants there being able to repel these incursions, which in fact were repelled, without any aid from him, before he returned to those parts. The emperor therefore, who imputed the ignominious peace, which was afterwards forced upon him, to his having been so abandoned, gladly received some complaints, which upon his return out of Italy into Germany, the enemies of the duke, encouraged to it by him, brought with great animosity against that prince, and appointed them to be heard in a diet at Worms on the thirteenth of January in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. But the duke, either conscious that he could not clear himself, or fearing the power of his adversaries in the diet, and the emperor's partiality, did not venture to appear, as he was summoned to do, before this

this assembly. In his absence he was charged with many grievous acts of violence and oppression, by some of his vassals and neighbours. His chief accusers were bishops, whose pretended immunities he had little respected, and whose vengeance he now felt; all the states of the empire being influenced by them against his cause. Yet (not to condemn him unheard) the emperor called another diet at Magdeburg, and summoned him to attend it. He again disobeyed; and the Marquis of Lusatia, accusing him to the diet of having instigated the Venetians to ravage that country, offered himself to make good the charge by duel. Being informed of this challenge, he said that the marquis was too inferior to him in dignity, and therefore he would not accept it; but he desired a personal conference with the emperor, who granted his request. In this interview he so far disculpated himself, and so mitigated Frederick's displeasure against him, that he drew from that prince a gracious offer of pardon, if he would only pay a fine of five thousand marks of silver to the imperial chamber. But his pride, which had raised so many enemies up against him, disdained to submit to such an acknowledgement of his having been to blame. He returned into Saxony, and being cited to appear at the diet of Goslar, and answer to the several accusations brought against him, refused to obey, alledging that his person would not there be in safety, and that, his judges being all confederated against him, he

BOOK V. could not hope for justice. The diet hereupon

A. D. 1180.

Annales

Paderborn, ad

ann. 1179.

Histoire

d'Allemagne.

condemned him as contumacious, and permitted his accusers to do themselves right by force of arms. The archbishop of Cologne, between whom and the duke much enmity had subsisted for some time past, was the first who undertook to execute this decree, with the assistance of Godfrey, duke of Brabant, of Philip, count of Guelders, of Theodorick, count of Cleves, of William, count of Juliers, and many other great lords. These ravaged all Westphalia, and constrained the few troops which Henry the Lion had there to retire to Brunswick. That prince, apprehending he might suddenly be attacked by the landgrave of Hesse, the landgrave of Thuringia, and other lords of that country, who, he knew, were hostile to him, chose to lead his army thither, and secure himself first from all danger on that side. This he did by two battles, the winning of which made him master of Thuringia and Hesse, where he stayed, with a part of his victorious forces, to keep possession of them, and sent the rest, under Bernard de Lipstad, his general, to recover Westphalia, which the archbishop of Cologne had left to the guard of the count of Tulenburg, a chief of great reputation. Him Bernard defeated and delivered in chains to the duke; after which he took Embden and other towns in those parts. But, the bishop of Halberstad making an irruption into East-Saxony, the duke, who, before, to obtain absolution from

Hist. d'Allemagne.

from an excommunication under which he had been laid by that prelate; had unwillingly suffered him to hold his bishoprick, ordered Bernard to oppose his progress there. This general drove him thence, and soon afterwards took his episcopal city, which the Saxon troops set on fire. The bishop, with great difficulty, escaped from the flames, but was made a prisoner; and generously freed by the duke, in pity to his age.

The emperor hitherto had never acted in person against this prince, nor sent any troops to join his foes: which was probably owing to the friendly intercessions of three great powers that mediated for him, the king of England, the king of France, and the pope. But they vainly endeavoured, by ambassadors and by legates, to obtain a reversal, or at least a mitigation, of the decree of the empire, past against him at Goslar. At last, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, a fuller diet than ever had before been assembled on this momentous affair having met at Gelnhaussen, a town in Weteravia, and the duke not appearing, the emperor, *to repair the injuries he had done to the states of the empire, and (as the decree itself sets forth) to punish his felony and contempt of the imperial authority*, did, with the unanimous consent of the diet, deprive him of his dutchies of Saxony, Bavaria, Angaria, and Westphalia, and of all other fiefs which he held of the empire. His having deserted the imperial service in Italy, though it is said to have been the

BOOK V.
A. D. 1180.
Hist. d'Allemagne, ad ann. 1180.

original cause of this prosecution, was no part of his charge; the emperor chusing rather to proceed against him as a judge, than as an accuser. But that prince, not unwillingly, now took on himself, at the request of the diet, and as head of the empire, the execution of the ban; and began it by granting the investiture of the dutchy of Angaria, or Angria, (as it is called by some writers) with a part of Westphalia, to the archbishop of Cologne and his successors in that see, the dutchy of Saxony with the other part of Westphalia to Bernard, prince of Anhalt, and the dutchy of Bavaria to Otho count of Wittelsbach; after which the smaller fiefs were likewise bestowed on many different lords. To put all these in possession of the territories assigned to them, the emperor marched himself at the head of his own troops and those of the empire, into Saxony, which he quickly subdued and delivered to Bernard of Anhalt. From thence he went into Bavaria, which submitted to him and to the count of Wittelsbach, without any resistance; while the archbishop of Cologne, and, under his command, the archbishop of Treves, the bishops of Hildesheim, Osnabrug, Munster, Minden, and Paderborn, with many temporal lords in that part of Germany, laid siege to Brunswick. This city, then one of the strongest in the empire, was taken in two months. Duke Henry had been forced, while Frederick was in Saxony, to fly from thence into Holstein, of which province he was

was master: but, when the emperor went into Bavaria, he returned with some troops into the lower Saxony, and maintained himself there, till Frederick joining his army to that of the archbishop of Cologne, and assisted by the ships of Waldemar king of Denmark, reduced Lubec, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; a conquest soon followed by that of the whole dutchy and also of Holstein. Waldemar had been, for some time, the ally and confederate of Henry the Lion, but was gained from him now by the emperor's offering to marry his two sons to the two daughters of that king. Holstein was given to count Adolphus de Schawenburg, who had held it of Henry, but from whom, upon a quarrel between him and his lord, it had been taken in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. The unfortunate duke, thus stript of almost all his territories, retired to a small, but well-fortified sea-port in the diocese of Bremen, intending, if he found that he could not defend it, to embark there for England, in a ship prepared for that purpose. But, instead of besieging this place, the emperor brought his army from Holstein by the Elb, and encamped near Luneburgh, which city he had ordered to be closely shut up, but not attacked: his intention being to preserve it for the dutchess of Saxony, the king of England's daughter. Her husband was persuaded, in the desperate situation to which his affairs were now reduced, that his best resource would be to implore the

Histoire
d'Allemagne.
ad ann. 1181.

compassion and mercy of the emperor, whose mother was his aunt. He therefore asked a safe-conduct, which the emperor having granted, he went to that prince, and throwing himself at his feet, begged that some of the territories, which he had been deprived of, might be restored to him.

The emperor seemed to be touched at seeing this great potentate, who in the empire itself had been lately a rival to the imperial power, so miserably humbled: but, however his heart might be disposed, his policy could not wish that he should again be much raised above his present state. Nor was it easy, at this time, to recover for him any of the forfeited countries; as those who had gained them would be very unwilling to give up the possession of them, and the emperor had no right to reverse what was done by the unanimous judgement and authority of the empire, without its concurrence. He had taken no part of all the spoils of the duke, and therefore could make no restitution to him by the mere act of his own grace. He could only recommend his petition to the favour of a new diet; which he offered to do, and called one to assemble at Quidlemburg on that business. The duke appeared there, and humbly presented his request: but, a warm dispute arising between him and his successor in the duchy of Saxony, the emperor thought it prudent to dissolve the assembly, and referred the affair to the consideration of another held at Erfort. In this the duke laboured

boured to justify or excuse his former conduct ; **BOOK V.**
 but, either he failed in that attempt, or the **A. D. 1181.**
 interest of all those who had shared in his spoils

was so prevalent in the diet, that it rose without granting him an acre of land. He was even obliged, in the presence of the states of the empire, to take an oath, that, within a term assigned, he would go out of Germany, and would not return before the end of seven years ; the emperor flattering him with hopes that restitution might be made of some of his fiefs, and possibly of them all, when, by so long an enjoyment of the profits of them, compensation had been given to the present possessors for the injuries he had done them.

It is probable that he put no very great confidence in any such expectations ; but he might believe that time would produce more favourable conjunctures, and that, in the mean while, his absence would mitigate the resentment of the empire. Many reasons had prevented his father-in-law, the king of England, though very affectionate to him, from supporting his cause by force of arms. One, assigned by an

English writer, contemporary with him, is **Benedict. Abbas,**
 the distance of the places where the war was **t. i. l. 330.**
 made ; but the impropriety of that king's interfering in a matter which could only be decided by the laws of the empire, against an unanimous decree of the diet grounded on a repeated contempt of their summons, appears to have been a much stronger ; and the weightiest of all was his solemn engagement to

go to the Holy War as soon as the affairs of his own realm would permit; a vow inconsistent with his implicating himself in any other warfare, to which he was not constrained. But, the emperor holding a diet at Mentz on the feast of Pentecost in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, Henry sent another embassy of the greatest lords of his court, to solicit that assembly in behalf of his son-in-law, and prevailed on the king of France and the earl of Flanders to aid his intercessions by theirs. Yet nothing more was obtained than the shortening of the exile imposed on the duke from seven to three years, and a liberty to the dutchess of residing on the lands assigned for her dower, if she chose to stay in Germany, or of appointing whom she would to have the custody of them, for her use and benefit, if she went with her husband. This dower contained the strong and opulent cities of Brunswick and Luneburg with the territories thereunto belonging, which accordingly were secured and guaranteed to that princess by the emperor and the diet, on her chusing to accompany her husband in his exile. Before the end of the summer, they came together into Normandy, bringing with them a daughter and two sons, of whom the eldest, named Henry, acquired afterwards, by a marriage, the County Palatine of the Rhine, and the youngest, named Otho, was crowned king of Germany, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-eight, and emperor of the west in twelve hundred and nine. The king

of England, at this time, was suppressing a rebellion in the earldom of Poitou; but hearing of their arrival he hastened back to Rouen, and by the kindness he shewed to the unfortunate duke gave him all the consolation his distress would admit of, a distress, which the conscience of his having, by a proud and violent conduct, done much to deserve it, embittered to his mind. After a few days, a great number of the German nobility, late vassals to this prince, who, with the emperor's leave, had attended him in his journey, to shew their respect and affection for his person, were dismissed by him and sent home. Before their departure Henry made them rich presents. He also gave to the duke a princely maintenance, and supported his whole family, with vast expence to himself. But the duke quickly left him, and went on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, his wife and children continuing to reside in Normandy.

During the course of these events, from the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine to the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, nothing had happened in England to give Henry much uneasiness, except that he was forced to bring again to the mint all the money of that kingdom, which, by the frauds of his coyners, had been much debased. The disorder occasioned by the late intestine troubles in all branches of government had produced this great mischief, and prolonged it to the year eleven hundred

hundred and eighty, when effectual care was taken by the king to redress it. He fined the offenders severely, bringing up those from the country mints in open sledges or carts, two and two chained together. Yet I do not find that he punished any of them with death, the usual sentence on clippers and coyners in this reign. It appears by a record, that, the year before this, the sheriff of London accounted to the king's Exchequer, for the goods of a woman executed for clipping silver pennies.

• Benedict.
Abbas,

ad ann. 1181.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, Lawrence O Tool, archbishop of Dublin, came to Normandy, and brought with him from Ireland a son of Roderick O Conor, as a hostage to Henry for the better observance of the treaty concluded in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, with regard to the tribute which Roderick was to pay for his own realm of Conaught, and to levy for Henry from the other inferior Irish princes. His having failed in this point had drawn upon him the arms of Fitzaldelm and Cogan in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, and the pledge he now gave might be thought more particularly binding on him, who had put to death the son of Dermod king of Leinster, on account of his father's breach of faith. The archbishop soon afterwards took leave of Henry, and was going back to Dublin; but died on the way, before he could embark.

Giraldus Cambrensis says, that Henry had conceived a jealousy of this prelate, because he had

had obtained, at the Lateran council, some privileges from the pope, in favour of his nation, which the king thought injurious to his own royal dignity. This, perhaps, was one reason why the Irish reported that miracles were done by him, and honoured him as a saint, presently after his death. But as soon as Henry heard that he was dead, he took the archbishoprick into his own custody, agreeably to the rights of his English prerogative, which he exercised over Ireland, as a realm annexed to that crown. He also sent thither the constable of Chester and Richard de Peck, to take from Hugh de Lacy the government of that isle, with the custody of Dublin, for having, without his permission, married a daughter of Roderick, king of Conaught. It is probable that this lord, by means of that alliance, prevailed on Roderick to deliver the hostage above-mentioned into Henry's hands, and hoped by this act to justify the unauthorised match he had made; but, other circumstances concurring to excite a suspicion of his seeking to obtain a greater power in Ireland than a subject ought to have, the umbrage it gave to the king could not be so removed. He was recalled into England, and required to answer there for his conduct, on Henry's return thither.

Hibernia
Expugnat,
Benedict.
Abbas.

That prince, on the twenty-seventh of April this year, had taken leave of Philip, king of France, after a conference held between them on the borders of Normandy, during which, exhortations

exhortations from Pope Alexander the Third to all Christian princes, nobles, and commons, that they should form a crusade for the defence of the Holy Land, having been shewn to both kings, Philip promised the knights of the temple and hospital, who brought this bull, to join with Henry in speedily succouring that country, the present weakness whereof required the assistance which his Holiness thus implored, and for which he offered a full remission of sins, with other indulgences usually granted to crusaders. But accidents intervened, which obstructed this purpose.

While Henry was hastening to Cherburg, from which port he intended to set sail for England, he was accosted by the earl of Bar, who was going into Spain, at the head of an army of more than twenty thousand Brabanters, to make war on the Saracens and *Publicans* there, at the special command of the pope. His Holiness had laid upon him this charge as a penance for his sins, and associated to him these men, who, having been all excommunicated by the Lateran council, as freebooters and cut-throats, were to atone for their crimes by turning their swords against the Mahometans and other enemies of the church. It appears from the *Publicans* being joined with the Saracens, as the objects of this warfare, that some of the hereticks in the South of France had gone from thence into Spain, and that the extirpating of them was a point which the pope had so passionately at heart, as to
try

try to effect it by this extraordinary method. The earl, who wanted money, begged the king to assist him. Henry said, he would liberally supply his wants, if he and his Brabanters would go to Jerusalem, instead of Spain: on which proposition he asked time to take their opinions; but what answer they made we are not told: nor is it clear whether Henry desired to send them to the Holy Land in his stead, as a succour which he thought would answer the purpose of his going himself, or to join them with the forces he intended to lead into those parts. Certainly a better method of defending Jerusalem could not have been found: for much might be done by the valour of these hardy and veteran soldiers against the infidels; and if all of them had perished in performing this service, it would have been no loss to Christendom, but, on the contrary, would have freed it from a most pernicious pest.

Henry was come to the sea-side, and just ready to embark for his voyage to England, when he was stopt by receiving an express from King Philip, who pressed him to return, and compose another quarrel, in which that monarch now found himself engaged, not, as before, with his mother, on account of the power he gave to the earl of Flanders, but with that prince himself: The cause of it was a claim, set up by the earl, to the lordship of a castle in the province of Beauvoisis, belonging to a nobleman high in the esteem and favour of his

Benedict,
Abbas.

his sovereign, the young count of Clermont. The right, perhaps, might be doubtful; but the violence of the claimant, who threatened to decide the controversy by arms, was more offensive to Philip than the injury he supposed to be done to his favourite; and it may be presumed that his mother, who had now access to him, gladly seized this occasion to inflame his resentment against the earl. Yet the benefit he had drawn from Henry's mediation upon a former dispute, and the deference which he paid to the wisdom of that king, made him desire his presence and advice on this business; in which Henry himself was concerned; as the count of Clermont had lately acknowledged himself his vassal. We are not enough informed of the intrigues of those times, to know the particulars which passed at a conference concerning this matter, wherein the two kings and the earl of Flanders were present: but the war, which was breaking out between Philip and the earl, was by Henry's endeavours stopt; and that monarch, who thought that his friendly intercessions would no longer be needful, went from France into England. His first care in that realm was to obtain the consent of his parliament to a law for the arming of his people, which being one of the most memorable acts of his reign, I shall give the whole statute, or *assize*, as it is called in the books of that age. The tenor thereof is as follows.

1. Whosoever

1. Whoſoever is poſſeſt of one knight's fee ſhall have a coat of mail, and a helmet, and a ſhield, and a lance; and every knight ſhall have ſo many coats of mail, helmets, ſhields, and lances as he hath knight's-fee in his eſtate.
2. Every free lay-man, who hath, in chat-tels or rent, to the value of ſixteen marks, ſhall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance.
3. Every free lay-man, who hath, in chat-tels or rent, ten marks, ſhall have an habergeon and ſcull-cap of iron, and a lance.
4. All burgeſſes, and *the whole community of free-men*, ſhall have a jacket, lined (or quilted) with wool or tow, a ſcull-cap of iron, and a lance.
5. And every one of theſe before-mentioned ſhall ſwear, that, before the feaſt of St. Hilary, he will provide theſe arms, and be faithfull to King Henry, the ſon of the Empreſs Matilda, and will keep theſe arms for his ſervice, according to his command, and with fidelity to the King and kingdom. And no man, when he hath theſe arms, ſhall ſell, pawn, lend, or in any manner part with them out of his own cuſtody. Nor ſhall the lord of a vaſſal, either by forfeiture, gift, or pledge, or by any other means, take them from him.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1181.
See Appen-
dix to this
book, from
Benedict.
Abbas, f. 365.
366. and from
Hoveden.

6. On

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

6. On the death of any man posselt of these arms, they shall remain to his heir: but, if the heir be not of such an age as that he can use arms when required, he who shall have the custody of his person shall have also that of his arms, and shall find a man who can use them in the King's service, until the heir shall be of such an age as that he can bear arms, and then they shall be delivered to him.
7. If any burgeis hath more arms than he ought to have according to this affize, he shall sell or give them away, or part with them to some man so qualified as that he may keep them for the King's service. And no burgeis shall keep more than he ought to have according to this affize.
8. Moreover, no Jew shall keep in his possession a coat of mail or habergeon, but shall sell or give it away, or otherwise part with it, so as that it may be used for the King's service.
9. Also, no man shall carry any arms out of England, unless by the King's order; nor shall any man sell any arms to another who would carry them out, nor shall any merchant or other person carry any out of England.

By other parts of this act directions are given for appointing juries in the hundreds and burroughs of every county, to discover who had
chattels

chattels or rents to the value expressed therein; on which inquest no person, who had not chattels to the value of sixteen marks, or ten at least, was to serve. The king's justices, in their circuits, were required to inroll the names of the jurors, and of those who should be found to have chattels or rents to the value above-mentioned; after which they were to cause this statute (or assize) to be publicly read; and all the persons concerned were to be sworn to observe it in all points. The act further directs, that if it should happen that any one of those who are to have the said arms, should not be in his county when the justices are there, they shall appoint him to appear before them in another county; and if he doth not come to them in any of the counties through which they go, they shall command him, as he loves himself and all he hath, to be at Westminster within eight days after Michaelmas, and there to take the oath. They are also ordered, to cause it to be publicly notified, in their several circuits, that the king will punish those who shall fail to have these arms, not in their lands or their goods, but corporally, in their limbs.

A law of the same nature had been made by the king, about the beginning of this year, in his territories abroad, and his example was followed, within a short time, by the king of France and the earl of Flanders, in all their dominions. It does him great honour, that he was the first author of such a regulation:

for no prince who desired to govern tyrannically would thus have armed his whole people; nor could any country in which such a law was maintained be either enslaved by the crown, or much oppressed by the nobles. It seems, indeed, that the ancient constitution of England had always intended what this statute enacted; as all freeholders were required, by the common law of the land, to assist in opposing and driving out invaders: but the want of care to provide the burgessees and free socmen, who did not hold any fiefs by military tenures, with proper arms, rendered that obligation of little or no effect. Whereas, from this time, the whole community of freemen (*tota communia liberorum hominum*) were bound to have in their own custody, and transmit to their heirs, the usual arms of a foot-soldier; and all who were worth sixteen marks, in chattels or rents, were to provide heavy armour; nay, even, those who had but ten were to furnish themselves with scull-caps and habergeons of iron, and leave them to their heirs, together with lances, by which I do not understand the heavy lances used by horsemen, but long-pikes or spears. . . No mention of bows and arrows is made in this statute, not, I presume, because those weapons were not used by foot-soldiers, or that the use of them was now interded to be laid aside or discouraged; but because it was not necessary to enforce by a law the general custom of all the lower orders of freemen to furnish themselves with them;
for,

for, by several passages in the books of those times, it evidently appears, that the greater part of the English infantry were now expert archers; and that, in cities, towns, and villages, the young men were accustomed to contend with each other in shooting with the long bow, as a daily exercise and sport. It is probable that in France the practice was not so common: for in the assize of arms, enacted by Henry for his transmarine dominions, it is ordered that every freeman shall have either a lance and a sword, *or a bow and arrows*, which alternative might be given to introduce a more general use of the latter than had hitherto prevailed there. Why the sword was omitted among the weapons assigned to the English by this law I cannot say: but, perhaps, it was thought that the knights would have it of course; and for the infantry the spear (improperly there called a lance) might be deemed of more use, as it would better enable them to keep off the assaults of the enemy's horse in a battle. The forbidding any Jew to have in his custody a coat of mail, or an habergeon, shews the jealousy of the state with regard to that people: and this assize is a proof, that the slaves (or villeins) in those days were quite unarmed; except with staves, or with bows.

Gervase of Canterbury says, that, in consequence of the oath imposed by this law, "unskillful rusticks, used to mattocks and spades, *unwillingly* gloried in the arms of soldiers." That *unwillingness* might arise

from their being compelled to buy the arms; but this was well repaid to them by the means which it gave them of protecting themselves against violence and oppression; and the realm was much strengthened against a foreign enemy by their being thus armed. The only danger from it was, that they might be too prompt in having recourse to their arms, on light occasions, at home. But, notwithstanding this objection, one of Henry's chief motives for this regulation was to raise up a strength in the body of the people, from which he thought he should have less to fear, whilst his government was administered with benignity and justice, and the rights of the commons were shielded by the regal authority, than from that of the barons or tenants by knight's-service, more liable to combine in factious connexions against the crown: and the same policy might induce the king of France and the earl of Flanders to adopt the same measure.

At the end of this assize was added a prohibition (of which notice has been taken in a former part of this work) to buy or sell any ship for the use of foreigners, or draw away any mariner into foreign service; which affords a presumption, that the English built better ships in those days than their neighbours, and that Henry, at this time, in guarding the kingdom, by the most proper methods, against future attacks, did not forget the importance

portance of preserving to it the use of all its shipping and seamen.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1181.

The remainder of this year, eleven hundred and eighty-one, produced nothing of much moment in the state-affairs of England; but, in those of the church some events, deserving of notice, happened during that period: On the twentieth of September, died Pope Alexander the Third. His character was exempt from any of those vices which dishonour a pontiff. His private life had been pure, his manners decent and mild: but his spirit had been high, and his principles much the same, concerning the rights and dignity of his see, as those of Gregory the Seventh. A refined policy, undisturbed by any violent passions, and supported by great firmness, had enabled him to maintain a disputed election, through the course of eighteen years, against a mighty emperor, who employed the whole force of Germany to oppose him. After the contest was over, he shewed himself not vindictive, receiving with kindness Calixtus, when that prelate (the third antipope whom his enemies had set up) submitted to his mercy, letting him eat at his table, and giving to him, instead of the Roman pontificate, a quiet see in the ecclesiastical state. There is no credit due to the accounts in some authors, not contemporary with this pontiff, of his insolent treatment of the emperor Frederick, when that prince was compelled to be reconciled to him, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven;

as Cardinal Baronius and others have sufficiently proved. But, though he did not tread on the neck of the emperor, he so subjected the imperial power to the papal, that he left his see more triumphant than it had ever been before, and not only the rightful prerogatives of the empire, but those of all other princes of the Roman communion, much impaired and diminished. A little before his death he had exercised over Scotland the papal jurisdiction in a very outrageous manner, commanding his legates to put that whole kingdom under an interdict, and excommunicate the king himself, for not admitting into the see of St. Andrews a bishop named John Scott.

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1180.

This man, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, had been a competitor for that prelacy with Hugh the king's chaplain, and appealed to the pope against his election, as uncanonical; notwithstanding which appeal, and before any sentence on the merits of the cause could be given at Rome, the king ordered his chaplain to be consecrated. A legate was sent to enquire into this business, on whose report Alexander deposed Hugh, and confirmed the election of John Scott: but the king was resolute against receiving the latter; and Hugh with equal firmness refusing to deliver to that prelate the ring and pastoral staff, he was therefore excommunicated by the legate, and the sentence against him was confirmed by the pope. This proceeding so much incensed the king, whose high spirit his misfortunes

fortunes had not depressed, that he banished BOOK V.
 John Scott, and with him his uncle, the bi- A. D. 1180.
 shop of Aberdeen, and all his other kindred;
 causing also the dwelling house of the bishop
 of Aberdeen to be burnt to the ground.

The two prelates, thus exiled, went to
 Henry in Normandy, together with the pope's
 legate, and made their complaints to him, as
 sovereign of Scotland, against his vassal, the
 Scotch king. Henry sent hereupon a message
 to that prince, entreating him to remit his
 anger against them, and, if he would not do
 this, requiring him to come over to him in
 Normandy and answer to his justice concern-
 ing this matter, or to send other proper per-
 sons to answer for him there. In obedience to Benedict.
 this summons William went into Normandy, Abbas,
 and through Henry's mediation an agreement ad ann. 1181.
 was made, that the bishop of Aberdeen should
 be suffered to return in peace to his see, and
 that John should resign the bishoprick of St.
 Andrews, on condition of having any other
 in Scotland which he himself should chuse,
 and with it the office of chancellor of that
 realm; if to this exchange of sees the pope's
 consent could be gained. But, instead of con-
 senting, his Holiness ordered the bishop of
 Durham, by a special commission, and the
 archbishop of York, as ordinary legate from
 the see of Rome in Scotland, to put that king-
 dom under an interdict, if John was not re-
 ceived as bishop of St. Andrews without fur-
 ther delay. This injunction was published in

BOOK V.

A. D. 1181.

Benedict.
Abbas.Ibidem,
ad anq. 1182.

the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; and many of the Scotch clergy, being ordered by the legates, on pain of excommunication, to pay their canonical obedience to John, went accordingly to him; which the king so resented, that he confiscated all their lands and goods, and drove into banishment them and their whole kindred. Hereupon, in obedience to a mandate from Rome, the archbishop of York excommunicated that prince, and the bishop of Durham laid a general interdict upon all his dominions. These exertions of the ecclesiastical power were more formidable to him, from there being at this time a pretender to his crown, named Mac-William, who, deriving his descent from the ancient kings of Scotland, had landed in Murray, and, with the aid of his friends, got possession of that province, from whence he infested the other parts of the kingdom. But in this crisis, happily for the king and the nation, Pope Alexander died; and, about a month after him, the archbishop of York; which events enabled William to treat more successfully with the see of Rome than before. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, the bishop of Glasgow and the abbot of Melrofs, having been sent by that king to Alexander's successor, who had taken the name of Lucius the Third, obtained from this pontiff absolution for him, and a release of the interdict Alexander had laid on all his dominions: after which, the dispute between the competitors for the see of St. Andrews being referred

referred to the bishop of Dol in Bretagne and the abbot of Rivaux, whom Lucius commissioned to determine this business, the king agreed with them, that the bishoprick of Dunkeld should be given to John Scott, with the office of chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland, and revenues equivalent to what he had possessed as bishop of St. Andrews, augmented by forty marks additional income, on condition of his burning the instruments he had gained from Pope Alexander the Third to confirm him in that see. It was likewise granted, that all the friends of this prelate, who had been banished from Scotland on his account, should be recalled to their country and recover their possessions. The king further consented, if John would insist upon it, that Hugh should be translated from St. Andrews to Glasgow, but expressed much reluctance at being forced to remove him from the former of those sees, and allowed him to appeal to Lucius against it; in consequence of which the two parties were heard by the whole sacred college, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, and judgement was given, that the see of St. Andrews should be taken from both; whereupon they made an absolute resignation thereof into the hands of the pontiff, and then went out of the court. But, after a few days, Lucius restored it to Hugh, and granted to John the bishoprick of Dunkeld with all the other additions which had been proposed, and to which the king had agreed, entreating that prince to receive into favour

A. D. 1182.
Hoveden.
Ep. Rolland.
Dolens. Elec-
ti, et Selvanj
Riev. Abbat,
ad Papam.

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1183.

this prelate and his friends, and grant to them the several benefits above-mentioned, *for the love of the apostles Peter and Paul, and out of reverence for the apostolical see.* But all this was overturned in the following pontificate, as I shall hereafter relate.

Diceto, col.
p14.

Before I end the account of church affairs in Great Britain from the year eleven hundred and eighty to the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, it will be proper to take notice of an act of prerogative, done by Henry on the death of the archbishop of York, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one. That prelate, who had held his very opulent see during twenty-seven years, left behind him (besides plate and three hundred pieces of gold) eleven thousand pounds of silver in the money of those days, an immense sum, to which an hundred and sixty-five thousand of our pounds sterling would be hardly equivalent now! All this he bequeathed to charitable or pious uses, by a verbal will declared a little before his death: but Henry, alledging against him, that he himself had affirmed, when his health and mind were most sound, that no bequest would be valid, which was made by any churchman during his last illness, ordered the whole to be seized to the use of the crown, as if he had died intestate. In truth, he not only had given this opinion, but had obtained from Pope Alexander the Third a power to seize the effects of any clergyman subject to his jurisdiction, who had made a will on his death-bed, and

Diceto, ut
supra.

and had not distributed what he bequeathed with his own hands. The king therefore had both the archbishop's own authority, and that of the pope for this act; but the bishop of Durham (Hugh de Pusey) who had received and laid out three hundred marks, as one of the executors of the archbishop's will, boldly answered Henry's justices, who, by orders from that prince, demanded them of him, that he had given them to the blind, the dumb, the lame, and other poor people; or had disposed of them in repairing churches or bridges, and would not gather them back: for which Henry took from him his palace at Durham, and used other methods to constrain him to restore what he had laid out; a proceeding which the law and practice of those times might sufficiently warrant, but which does not seem agreeable to the equity and the lenity of Henry's general conduct!

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1182.

It is remarkable that among all the legacies left by the archbishop of York there was none to any convent! And William of Newbury has recorded a saying of that prelate very extraordinary in those times, *that his predecessor, archbishop Turstin, had never been guilty of a more grievous sin than in building Fountain Abbey.* At which the clergy about him appearing to be scandalized, he said, "*They were lay-men, if they did not comprehend the force of his words.*" Indeed the secular priests had great reason to complain, that the zeal of the laity turned almost the whole stream of their

Neubrigenfia,
l. iii. c. 3.

their charity and munificence towards the monks, whom this writer, who was himself a monk, calls *Christian Philosophers*. He adds, that the archbishop was so wonderfully blind, though otherwise a man of an acute understanding, as to think he served God by endeavouring to stop the encrease of their wealth: for, being urged, on his death bed, by the prior of a convent, to confirm the gifts granted to it by certain pious persons, as his predecessors had done, his answer was, “*I am dying; and, because I fear God, I dare not do what you ask.*” It is no wonder, that, as these opinions were known, John of Salisbury, who thought very highly of the sanctity of a monastical life, and who hated this prelate for his dislike of Becket, should speak with such acrimony of him as he does in some of his letters, and charge him with the most atrocious crimes. Little credit is due to those accusations, not supported by the testimony of any other writer. William of Newbury, though a monk, brings no such charge against him, but says, he was learned, eloquent, and of singular prudence in temporal affairs; but too attentive to them, and too much bent on enriching, by many blameable methods, himself and his see. This was probably his worst fault, and this he sought to atone for, by alms given too late. He had served the king well in his dispute with Becket: a merit which that prince did not enough remember when he thus annulled his last will.

The

The concord restored in the royal family of France by Henry's mediation did not long continue. For Stephen, one of Philip's uncles, and count of Sancerre, laying claim to a castle which belonged to a knight who asserted that he held it in chief of the king, was forbidden by that monarch to disturb the possession of his vassal therein; but he forcibly took and kept it; for which being threatened with the king's indignation, he went to the earl of Flanders, who likewise claimed a right to it, and agreed to hold it of him. Philip, informed of this confederacy, besieged the castle, and drove his uncle out; whereupon the earl of Flanders demanding restitution in behalf of his vassal, as superior lord of the fief, and Philip, by the advice of the count of Clermont, his favourite, refusing to restore it, the earl led an army into the lands of the count, which were held of the king, and layed them waste. In truth this dispute was rather the outward pretence than real cause of this war; the earl being offended at the loss of that power, which he had hoped to secure by the marriage of his niece, but which the counsels of Henry, and the influence lately gained by that prince over Philip, prevented him from enjoying. Nor were the king's uncles pleased, though Henry had brought them back to court, that he and the count of Clermont, who seems to have been advised by him, should direct their nephew's conduct in the government of his kingdom more than they or his mother. Joining therefore the earl of Flanders,

BOOK V.

Benedict.
Abbas,
ad ann. 1181.

Dicer.

BOOK V.

Benedict.

Abbas, Diecto,
ad ann. 1181.

Flanders, whom they before had opposed; and drawing to his faction many nobles of theirs, they took this occasion, while Henry was in England, about the end of the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, to try their strength. But the young king of England, whom his father had left behind him in Normandy, as his deputy there, raised an army of Normans, and led them to assist his brother-in-law Philip, probably, not without orders received from his father. He was attended in this expedition by Richard and Geoffry, his brothers. The earl, on their approach, fearing to be overpowered, retired out of France: but Stephen, count of Sancerre, the instigator of this war, was forced by them to submit to the mercy of Philip, whom they also enabled to ravage the territories of the other confederates, particularly those of the duke of Burgundy. King Henry the elder, detained by contrary winds on the sea-coast of England, could not pass into France till a little before Easter in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two; but, soon after that festival, having first seen the king of France, he brought the earl of Flanders to an amicable conference with that prince and with him, in which he made up their quarrel. It appears by a letter which he sent on this occasion to Ranulph de Glanville, that the earl publicly acknowledged, he had no other right in the province of Vermandois, which Philip claimed as belonging to the royal domain in France, than as a pledge, to remain in his custody and pos-

Benedict.

Abbas,
Hoveden,

ad ann. 1181.

Girald. Cam-

brenf. de In-

structione

Principis.

Cotton MSS.

Julius B. xiii.

possession, till the charge he had been at, in improving the country, should be fully repaid.

Some writers say that he promised to leave it to Philip after his own decease, *as a portion to his niece the queen of France*; but I do not find this in the letter above-mentioned, nor in another which was written by the king on this subject to the bishop of Winchester. It is said there that Perrone was restored to the king of France, to be held under him by the bishop of Soissons, and under that prelate by another sub-vassal. We learn from the same authority that the city of Amiens was declared to be held of the French crown by the bishop of that diocese, who promised that justice should be done to the earl of Flanders, in his or the king's court, on any right he should claim to have therein. It is also mentioned that the count of Clermont, and another baron there named, should hold their lands of the king of France in chief, free from all obligations of service to the earl; that compensation should be made for all damages on both sides; and that, by the advice and endeavours of the king of England, all who had departed from their fealty to Philip should again return to it. It was moreover agreed between Henry and the earl, that those barons of Flanders who were homagers to the former (as many then were) for military fiefs, if they went out of their country in order to perform the services due to him, should not, on that account, lose their lands in that earldom, but, if they failed to perform them, should forfeit the fiefs

Benedict.

Abbas,

Hoveden.

V. Dicter;

col. 613.

siefs they held of him. That king likewise takes notice in the letter he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, that the earl in this conference renounced all the grants made to him by young Henry in the former convention at Paris : but, as a like renunciation had been made in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, one can hardly tell for what reason it was now repeated. Perhaps it may have been asked by King Henry the father, with an intention that Philip, before whom it was thus renewed and confirmed, should become a witness to it, for the greater security against any pretensions, which the earl or his successors might afterwards ground upon those rash engagements. Indeed it was necessary, in every matter where the earl was concerned, to proceed with the most extraordinary caution. The levity of his temper was equal to the heat and violence of it ; and his mind had no fixed political principles to determine his conduct. He had solemnly promised, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, not to dispose of either of his nieces, the daughters of Matthew the late earl of Boulogne, without Henry's consent ; notwithstanding which engagement, he had married them both, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, against that king's inclination. The death of the count of Gueldres, who was husband to the eldest, facilitated this peace : because he, expecting, by virtue of his marriage, to inherit the Vermandois, had been unwilling that the cession of that province to

Philip

Philip should ever take effect; and had therefore opposed any treaty of this nature to the utmost of his power. But the great and efficient cause which induced the earl of Flanders to lay down his arms, and submit to the terms above-mentioned, was the strength of Philip's party, sustained by Henry's troops, and guided by his counsels.

Tranquillity being thus restored in France, Henry wished to return to his English dominions, on the borders of which the Welsh had committed hostilities, which threatened him with a troublesome war in those parts. For, a new castle having been erected in Gloucestershire, contiguous to South-Wales, by an Englishman of the marches, the neighbouring Welsh, who were jealous that it was built with a purpose to annoy or curb them, at a time when nothing hostile, or injurious to the English, had been done on their part; attacked those who kept it, and killed Ranulph le Poer, the sheriff of Gloucestershire; who had come to their aid pursuant to an order from the king's justices. Hereupon the grand justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, as guardian of the realm, drew together an army, marched into that country, and set his men to repair the now-demolished castle. On his approach the Welsh retired to their woods or fastnesses in the mountains; but returning back the next night assaulted his camp, and slew many of his soldiers. The news of this alarmed Henry, who feared that the courage of a bar-

Benedict.
Abbas,
ad ann. 1151.

barous people might be raised by such success to further and greater attempts: but he was stopt by new troubles, which the discontent of his son, the young king Henry, produced. That prince, who, in the war against the earl of Flanders, had distinguished his valour, demanded a present grant of the dutchy of Normandy, or some other dominion, in which he and his consort might reside, and where he might bestow on the knights of his household, whose good services to him he greatly wished to reward, lands of his own, at his pleasure: but, his father not caring to gratify a desire which tended to independence, he left the court in disgust, and went, without taking leave, out of Normandy into France, declaring he would go from thence to Jerusalem. A negociation ensued; and his father offered to him, instead of what he asked, a daily allowance, for his own expences, of one hundred pounds of Angevin money, and of ten to his consort for hers; promising also to give, before the end of that year, to a hundred knights of his household, proper rewards, proportioned to their services. This offer was accepted: he returned to his father, and bound himself by a new spontaneous oath, that he never would ask more than he now had obtained from him, and would always be governed by his will and advice: but he had sworn to the same effect before, and had not kept his promise.

After

After this accommodation, about the beginning of the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, homage was done to this prince, at his father's desire, by Geoffry his brother, for the dutchy of Bretagne, which being a fief of the dutchy of Normandy, this acknowledgement of dependency was properly paid to him as heir apparent of Normandy; and his father, by requiring it to be done, assured to him that dominion. But Richard, who was present, being likewise required to do homage for Aquitaine to his elder brother Henry, refused to comply with that demand, though supported by all the authority of his father. Concerning the grounds of this dispute, it will be necessary to enter into some discussion here, as the matter is important, and not well explained by the writers of those times.

The dutchy of Aquitaine not being annexed to the crown of England in those days, and its dukes holding only, by immediate feudal service, of the kings of France, their liege lords, the sole foundation of demanding this homage from Richard must have been a supposition, that, notwithstanding the grant of that dutchy made to him in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine by the treaty of Montmirail, a superiority in it still remained to his father, as Eleanor's husband, and to Henry their eldest son, as next heir to that fief in right of his mother. But, from the weighty authority of John of Salisbury's letters, written at the time when the treaty of Montmirail was

A. D. 1183.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

V. Johan.
Sarif. 268.
Epist. S. Tho.
Cant. 66. L. 2.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1183.

V. Benedict.

Abbas, p. 226.

L. i. Hoveden.

V. Rymer's
Foedera.See Vol. IV.
of this Hist.
p. 248.

concluded, it should seem that an absolute cession of the dutchy had been made thereby to Richard; and we find that, by two of the contemporary authors, in relating the transactions of the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, he is styled *duke of Poitou*, the import of which title was the same as duke of Aquitaine in the writings of that age. Yet his father styles himself, in a record of that year, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine; and we have many other proofs which put it out of all question that he considered himself, and was considered by others, as retaining the dominion which his marriage had given him over the last of those dutchies, even after the time when Richard was of full age. It likewise appears, from the evidence of records, that he used the title of earl or count of Anjou, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, though his eldest son had assisted, in right of the earldom, as great seneschal of France, at a publick ceremony of that court, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine. To account for these seemingly inconsistent facts, I suppose that he looked on the treaty of Montmirail as null and void, after his sons had engaged in a rebellion against him, with the French king's assistance, and being master of the terms on which peace was made, reserved to himself, not without some assurance of the acquiescence of Louis, a superiority of dominion over his sons in Aquitaine and in Anjou, though he suffered these princes, who had

had been invested with them, to be styled earls or dukes of their respective territories, and to govern them under him; as he also permitted his fourth son, John, to be called *Lord of Ireland*, though he kept to himself the sovereignty of that isle. And this explains why he wished that Richard should do homage to his eldest son Henry, for the dutchy of Aquitaine, and on what the resistance of Richard was founded. Homage was asked, to the end that a superiority in that great fief might be preserved to the heir of the kingdom of England, and add to the strength of the English power in France: It was denied, because Richard, though he would not then dispute this superiority with his father, was not equally willing to yield it to his brother, but desired to hold the dutchy, after the death of his father, under no other vassalage than what his predecessors had paid to their sovereigns, the kings of France. This and another dispute about a castle in Anjou so exasperated his elder brother against him, that a willing attention was given by that prince to a secret message sent to him from many barons of Aquitaine, who offered to deliver into his hands their fortified towns and castles, and to become his liege subjects, telling him, that he ought, by hereditary right, to be their lord, and that they would no longer hold their fiefs of Richard, who committed rapes on the wives and daughters of free-men, and after he had

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

BOOK V. satisfied his desires with them gave them up
 A. D. 1183. to his soldiers.

Whether this heinous charge was true, or was a calumny grounded on their malice to Richard, who ruled them with a strong hand, and had punished most of them for rebelling against his father and him since the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, I find no certain proof: but the young king was glad to avail himself of this hatred against the duke, and, without his father's knowledge, received from them pledges, that they would serve and stand by him, as their liege lord. Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, who had now, with the sanction of a papal dispensation, married the Princess Constantia, inheritrix of that dukedom, combined with his eldest brother in this undertaking, for the expulsion of Richard out of Aquitaine, on what motives of advantage to himself we know not; the history of this civil war being very imperfectly and confusedly given by the writers of that age. But it appears that a mercenary army of Brabanters was hired by these princes, and joined to the militia of the dutchy of Bretagne, with which forces they ravaged the territories of Richard, who, in return, wasted theirs; the parties being so incensed against each other, that every prisoner taken on either side in these inroads was instantly put to death.

King Henry the elder saw, with amazement and with grief, this sudden storm of discord involving his children, and threatening his second son with utter and speedy destruction,

Benedict,
 Abbas.
 Hoveden,

tion, if its course were not stopt. In bidding Richard do homage for the dutchy of Aquitaine to his elder brother Henry, he had been far from desiring that Henry should deprive that prince of the fief; and his attempting to do so was the more inexcusable, if (as some of the contemporary authors affirm) Richard, though he had refused, on the first mention of it, to submit to this mark of vassalage and subjection where he thought it not due, would have afterwards yielded to his father's importunity, but was then, on the proffer which he had made of his homage, rejected by his brother. However this may have been, it certainly was repugnant to every wish of the father, that two of his sons should thus destroy a third. He therefore assembled, as speedily as he could, an army of his vassals, with which he marched to aid Richard, and force all the three brothers to put an end to the horrors of so direful and so abominable a war. On his taking this part, the eldest came and submitted himself to his pleasure, confessing the engagements into which he had entered with the barons of Aquitaine, and laying the blame on Richard's usurpation of the castle of Clarevaux in Anjou, which he begged his father to recover, and keep in his own hands. To this request that king not unwillingly yielded, and taking the three princes along with him to Angers received from them in that city a renewal of the oaths of fealty to himself, and also caused them to swear, that

Benedict.
Abbas,
Hoveden.

they would maintain, for the future, a perpetual peace among themselves, according to the terms which he should be pleased to prescribe. A day was then fixed for the barons of Aquitaine, included in this agreement, to meet them and their father at Mirebeau in Anjou: but, these not attending, the latter sent his son Geoffry, to endeavour to persuade them to lay down their arms, and come with him to that castle. Instead of which he again confederated with them, and made inroads, at the head of his rapacious Brabanters, into the lands of his father. Hereupon the young Henry was empowered by that monarch to propose to him and them, that every thing should be put into the same state as it was a year before this disturbance, or that they should agree to stand to the judgement of his father's court in that province, on all the points in dispute. He went to treat with them in the castle of Limoges, a very strong fortress, which was now their head-quarters. From thence he sent a message to let his father know, that nothing but his presence at Limoges was wanting for the restoration of concord. That prince, therefore, went thither, taking with him his son Richard and only a few attendants, as secure from all danger; but, when he came to the city, the centinels on the walls shot arrows against him, one of which pierced his coat of arms. A knight, who attended him, was also struck with a sword, and wounded, in his fight. This constrained him and Richard to retire
hastily

hastily to the place where his army was posted: and nothing was done by his sons, who remained in the castle, to punish the offenders: but soon afterwards he returned at the head of his troops, and was received by the townsmen, without further opposition, into the city. From thence he advanced to the gates of the castle, in order to confer with his eldest son and with Geoffry, who both came out to meet him. Here likewise a discharge of arrows was made by some of the soldiers on the walls, and the horse the king rode on was wounded in the head, which he happened to toss up, just as one of the arrows was coming against his rider's breast. Yet, presently afterwards, young Henry left the castle, to wait on his father. How he excused what had past we are not informed; but it is said, he declared, that if the barons of Aquitaine did not throw themselves at his father's feet, to sue for peace, he would forsake them, and serve him to the utmost of his power. From hence one should judge that the traiterous attempts on the life of his father were not made by his orders; and so, it seems, that prince thought; for he suffered him to return, with a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, to Geoffry and the barons; but they would not accept it on the terms offered to them; which when young Henry found, he, according to his promise, went back to his father, and stayed with him in the town. Geoffry also left the castle; but so far was he from following his brother's example,

BOOK V.
A. D. 1183.

Benedict.
Abbas,
Hoveden.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1183.

ample, that putting himself at the head of his Brabanters he infested and ruined, with merciless depredations, his father's domain in those countries. The young king, on the news of his acting in this manner, accused him to their father of having been the adviser of all their late offences, and, to shew his resolution not to take any part in this renewed rebellion, delivered up to that monarch his horse and arms. After this he continued to negotiate with those he had left in the castle, authorised so to do (as I presume) by his father, who let him go frequently to and from the rebels there, without restraint. At length, perceiving all his endeavours unsuccessful, he made a solemn vow on the reliques of St. Martial preserved in the castle, that he would instantly take the cross. And, perhaps, a better method to disintangle himself from the very incongruous and contradictory engagements, with which he was embarrassed, could not easily have been found. But, when he acquainted his father with this resolution, that prince strongly adjured him to examine himself, whether it sprung from religion, or merely from a fit of discontent. He affirmed upon oath, that the only motive he had for making this vow, was thereby to obtain a remission of his sins against his father; who, nevertheless, still opposed the performance of this dangerous penance, and to entreaties joined tears. Whereupon his son, with great vehemence of passion, said, he would kill himself with his own

V. Authores
citatos ut
suprà.

own hand, if he was not allowed to take the cross, which he declared he had long desired to do, but had delayed it in hopes of being more perfectly reconciled to his father, without whose favour he thought the going on a pilgrimage would profit him nothing: and this declaration he confirmed by solemnly attesting the body of Christ in the host, which had been consecrated that morning before his eyes. Henry then made him this answer, "May the will of God and thy will, my son, be done! I promise to assist, and fit thee out for this service, with an expence not inferior to that of any prince who has gone to the holy war in any past time." His son thanked him with many expressions of gratitude, and finding him in this temper implored him to shew mercy to the garrison of the castle and the barons of Aquitaine; which, unable to resist the present warm emotions of paternal affection, he most graciously promised, without reserve or exception. But it seems that he afterwards (perhaps from a discovery of new offences against him) was desirous to limit the extent of this pardon; for, his son bringing to him the chief officers of the castle, he expressed an unwillingness to admit them to his presence: yet, they and that king throwing themselves at his feet, and humbly begging forgiveness, he granted it to them, on condition of their delivering to him certain hostages, whom he named. To this they consented, or pretended to consent, and returned to the castle together with the young king;

BOOK V. king: but some persons, whom his father de-
A. D. 1183. puted to receive the hostages from them, were
 assaulted in the fort and almost killed.

Benedict.
 Abbas,
 Hoveden.

Such a deed, one would think, must for-
 ever have separated the young king from the
 rebels: but, on the contrary, we are told, he
 took new engagements with them, and be-
 came a worse enemy, than before, to his fa-
 ther. Perhaps he thought he had fully accom-
 plished the promises he had made to that mo-
 narch, by bringing them to ask pardon, and
 deemed it injurious to him, that, when he an-
 swered for them, other securities should be
 asked. And they might be encouraged to
 persevere in rebellion, from an opinion that,
 both in France and in England, their party
 would be strengthened by powerful insur-
 rections. For soon after this time, while King
 Henry, the father, was besieging the castle of
 Limoges, he imprisoned many persons who
 had joined with his sons in their first revolt
 against him, throughout all his dominions on
 the continent, and sent orders to his justiciaries
 in England that they should use the same
 caution: which they accordingly did, by ar-
 resting the earl and countess of Leicester,
 the earl of Gloucester, and many others of high
 rank in the kingdom. Thus whatever hopes
 of aid young Henry had conceived from any
 of these, on either side of the channel, were
 totally disappointed. But his father's strength
 was encreased by an army of Spaniards, Cata-
 lonians and Basques, which the king of Arragon
 brought

brought to join him; an assistance asked by him, because they were not so liable as his own troops to any contagion of treason. BOOK V.
A. D. 1182.

In these circumstances the two brothers were forced to sue again for peace. The elder besought his father, that Maurice de Craon, and other lords, whom he named, might be empowered to treat with him in the castle of Limoges. This was granted; but, while they were conferring with him, some of their retinue were killed, before his face, by his soldiers: and, a few days afterwards, two barons, sent to Geoffry from his father, had almost lost their lives in executing their commission; one of them being much wounded, and the other thrown from a bridge, on which the conference was held, into the water beneath it, by some of Geoffry's train, and in his sight.

It may, I think, be presumed, that these acts of violence were not done with the consent of these princes, but proceeded from the lawless and ungovernable fury of some of their mercenaries, who desired that peace should not be made, and over whom, at this time, for want of money to pay them, they could exercise no restraining authority, but were indeed in their power. For soon afterwards, Geoffry was admitted by his father to a conference with him: which he would not have been, if he had not cleared himself, to that king's satisfaction, of any share in the guilt of this offence. He was also permitted to go into the castle of Limoges,

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ibidem.

A.D. 1183. Limoges, in order to treat with his brother, and the chiefs of the rebels, about a peace, which he promised to bring them to accept on such terms, as his father was now disposed to grant. Probably Henry might think; they would pay more regard to the persuasions of one they looked upon as their friend, than to those of any minister he could employ, and was afraid to expose another of his servants to the risk of treating with them. Geoffry therefore was sent; but all we know of what passed after he entered the castle, is that he stripped St. Martial's shrine, which was within that inclosure, of its covering of silver, and robbed the convent of its gold and silver plate, which booty he applied to pay his Brabanters, having got it to his camp by means of a prolongation of the truce with his father till the following day. This must certainly have been done with his brother's approbation, as a method to supply the necessities of the party, till better terms could be gained than those which his father had impowered him to offer. Indeed both these princes were now in a state of hostility with the church, the thunders of which, they well knew, were ready to fall upon their heads. For Pope Lucius had sent a positive mandate to the bishops of England, and particularly to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, which required those prelates to excommunicate them and all their adherents, if they did not desist from disturbing their father's peace, within a term there assigned. This was notified

fied to young Henry by a letter from the pri-
mate, which is extant among those of Peter
de Blois, whose pen he employed in this busi-
ness. He there reproaches that prince for
making himself a captain of Brabanters, an
excommunicated and desperate band of free-
booters, against a people affectionately devoted
to him; and for giving up, as a prey to the
rapine of these troops, his father's territories,
which his duty obliged him to defend and
preserve, even by shedding his blood to the
last drop. "What (says he) has your father
done to offend you? He never acted towards
you as your king or lord, but always as a
guardian of your kingdom for you, and a
most faithful servant in the administration
of all your affairs. He lives for you, not
himself. All his power, all his knowledge,
whatever he achieves, whatever he acquires,
whatever he possesses, is yours. Where is
your filial affection, where your reverence
for your father? What regard do you pay
to the law of nature, what to the fear of
God, what to those oaths you took, in our
presence, to your father, what to that ob-
ligation which you laid upon me, and other
bishops of England, to be sureties for you
to him? The whole world extols your va-
lour, your discretion, your liberality, your
constancy, your beauty, and other graces
with which nature has profusely adorned
you! But, if you fail in humility and love
to your father, the more celebrated your
praise

A. D. 1183.

V. Petri Ble-
sens. Epist. 47.

"praise is in other respects, the more infamous
 "will this defect bring upon you, and the
 "further will it spread. You have known
 "that your father has a temper of mind which
 "humility alone can soften. Be therefore sub-
 "ject to him, and he will submit his will to
 "yours. With great toils and expences he
 "strengthens and establishes your kingdom
 "and throne, so that no hostile forces of bar-
 "barous invaders may in times to come over-
 "turn it. The hereditary succession is se-
 "cured to you: wait patiently for it. An in-
 "heritance, which a man is in haste to possess,
 "will (as Solomon testifies) be unblest when
 "it comes. You are too much seduced by
 "the suggestions of flatterers, who, not de-
 "siring your honour, but the distribution of
 "honours and emoluments for themselves, and
 "wanting to exercise *their* dominion (not
 "*yours*) over the miserable people, whisper
 "to you, and persuade you that you ought
 "to claim to yourself, for your own separate
 "use, a certain portion of the realm. Would
 "you not act more wisely in maintaining the
 "peace and tranquillity of your subjects by
 "the prudence of your father, than in dis-
 "turbing them by the rash and interested
 "counsels of faithless flatterers? Believe me,
 "you could not, by a great deal of violence,
 "and by many crimes, extort from all France
 "so much money, as you now draw, without
 "any difficulty or crime, from the bounty of
 "your father."

In all these remonstrances there was, doubtless, great truth; and they shew the chief cause of the young king's repeated discontents and rebellions. They also shew why his father so pertinaciously refused to gratify his desire of a separate and independent dominion. The letter concluded with a notification to him, that if, within fifteen days from the delivery of it, he and all his adherents did not lay down their arms, they should, in pursuance of the pope's express mandate, be excommunicated, without any liberty of appeal.

However obstinate this young prince might be, he could not help perceiving into how bad a state the execution of this menace would put him and his brother; but they had taken engagements which they could neither make good, nor recede from with honour. The nobles with whom they were combined, apprehensive of punishment, and abhorring the thought of being forced to submit to the domination of Richard, opposed every step towards an agreement, of which that submission was to be the foundation. At the same time, the Brabanters, in whom the greatest strength of the party consisted, being under a sentence of excommunication, laid upon them by the pope and Lateran council, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, could not be moved by the fear of such an anathema now, but were only solicitous to secure their pay, which those who had hired them wanted ability to discharge, and which they

BOOK V.

A. D. 1183.

V. Petri Ble-
sens. Epist. 69.Diceto, col.
519. 1189.Petri Blef.
Epist. 69.Diceto, col.
617.

despaired of obtaining, in the present state of things, by means of any treaty. They desired therefore to try the fortune of war, and there is reason to believe, they expected to be joined by the militia of Anjou: for we find that some troops, which had been raised in that country by Henry the elder, to serve him against the king his son, about this time, had, before they came into the sight of the enemy, run away from their colours. It is surprising that this should have happened in Anjou, where he had done many gracious and popular acts, particularly one, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, when there being a great dearth of corn in that province and the neighbouring country of Maine, he fed every day ten thousand poor people, from the first of April, till after the harvest was got in, opening to them all his granaries, and magazines of provisions, and wine-cellar in those parts! Peter of Blois, in a letter he wrote on this subject to the bishop of Angers, imputes the crime of these troops, in so ungratefully forsaking their generous benefactor, to their thinking that his son would probably live much longer than he, and fearing to remain exposed to the vengeance of this their future lord, if they should now fight against him. Whatever the cause of it was, an assurance of their being in such a disposition might encourage the young king to send no other reply to the above-mentioned letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, than a repetition of what

what he had always declared, that he did not make this war against his father, but against his brother Richard, with intent to deliver the the barons of Poitou from the oppressive and violent government of that prince.

Hereupon, by the orders of King Henry the elder, on the feast of the Ascension, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-three, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and several Norman bishops, with all the the abbots in Normandy, and many of the clergy, assembled at Caen, and pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against all who disturbed that monarch's peace, according to the mandate which they had received from the pope. This was instantly notified by Peter of Blois to the bishop of Angers, and that prelate was required to pass a like sentence on the soldiery in his diocese, who so shamefully had deserted their master's service. Whether these censures availed to bring them back to their duty we are not told; but undoubtedly the proceedings of the assembly at Caen, and the authority of the pope, upon which they were grounded, stopped many, on whose aid the rebel princes had counted, from joining them at this time. Nevertheless they persisted in the desperate part they had taken; and the young king, to supply the necessities of his Brabanters, was forced to have recourse to the same odious means which his brother Geoffrey had used: he led them to pillage the wealthy shrine of a saint

Benedict.
Abbas,
Epiit. 69.
ut supra.

Benedict.
Abbas.

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 9.

in the neighbourhood of Limoges, from the castle of which city a free communication was open at this time to the country behind it, though his father's troops shut it up on the side of the town. But this sacrilege only furnished him with a short and scanty relief for the importunate and never-ceasing demands of a mercenary army unpaid. To discharge their arrears, and enable him to procure for the barons of Aquitaine such a peace as they wished, a victory was so needful, that those about him inclined rather to run any hazards, than not try to obtain one. A resolution was therefore taken by his council of war to attack his father's army, and force him to a battle, on the Monday after the approaching feast of Pentecost, by which time he proposed to assemble all his forces, in order to make this attempt. But a doubt of the event, a dread of the consequences if he should be defeated, a natural horror at the thought of that heinous guilt, which would indelibly stain his soul, and render his memory infamous to all future ages, if his father should fall in this fight, so agitated his mind, that it threw him into a fever, which obliged him to remove from his camp to a castle in the viscounty of Turenne. Here his sickness encreased; a bloody flux soon came on; neither that nor the fever would yield to any remedies; his physicians despaired; they let him know he must die. On receiving this sentence, the agony of his mind redoubled. He immediately sent a message to his

his father, humbly confessing his fault, and earnestly imploring him, as the last instance of paternal tenderness, to come and see his dying son. Henry, touched to the heart, was desirous to yield to this request; but, his friends representing to him how dangerous it would be, to trust his person to those flagitious conspirators who were about the sick prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his son, and sent it to him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his pardon. When this was delivered to that prince, he kissed it, and entreated the prelate to return to his father, and carry to him his last request, that he would be merciful to the barons of Aquitaine, and pay his knights and servants the wages due to them. Then putting on sackcloth, and, tying a halter about his neck, he ordered the bishops, and other ecclesiasticks who stood round his bed, to draw him from thence and lay him on a heap of ashes, spread over the floor for this purpose; which they having done, he desired that his body might be buried at Rouen, received the sacraments, and expired.

While this melancholy scene was passing, the archbishop of Bourdeaux had brought to King Henry the elder his son's last supplications, and a favourable answer had been returned; but, before the report of it could be made to that prince, he was no more. When his father was informed of his decease, though prepared to expect it, he was so affected

ted with it, that he fainted away three times, and when he came to himself gave a vent to his sorrow with immoderate lamentations, forgetting all the offences which his son had repeatedly committed against him, and dwelling only on the thought, how much might have been hoped from that prince's great endowments if it had pleased God to spare his life, and if his active, aspiring mind, being reformed by repentance, had taken a right turn. But, whilst he was thus indulging an excessive and unprofitable passion of grief, Richard hearing that the rebels, on the news of his brother's death, had left their camp and dispersed, pursued and put to the sword some scattered parties of them. Nor did Henry remain long unactive; but seeking consolation in the operations of war made repeated attacks on the castle of Limoges, the garrison of which, despairing of help from their friends, whom the death of their chief had confounded, quickly surrendered it to him; whereupon he commanded, that not one stone of it should be left upon another. All the other strong places, belonging to the rebels, were in like manner destroyed, excepting a few which he chose to keep himself. He also took into his own possession those castles, which, before the war, he had given to Richard in Poitou, designing thereby to reserve entirely to himself the disposal of that province. His son Geoffrey he pardoned, but, to secure the obedience of that prince for the future, put his own garrisons into

into all the fortresses of Bretagne, with a declared resolution to hold them and the dutchy under his own government as long as he should think fit. The disturbances in all his territories abroad having thus been composed, he disbanded his forces, giving many rich presents to the king of Arragon, with grateful acknowledgements of his obligations to him for the friendly aid he had brought. It does not appear that any of the rebels were otherwise punished than by losing their castles, though there is no mention made of Henry's having granted them any capitulations, but on the contrary, from the words of contemporary authors, it seems they were forced to surrender at discretion. We may therefore presume, that the mercy shewn to them and the barons of Aquitaine was the pure effect of a kind regard in the father to the last request of his son. The corpse of that prince, shrowded in those linen garments wherein he had been consecrated at his coronation, and wrapt up in lead, was carried on the shoulders of his servants and officers from the castle of Martel in Turenne, where he died, to be interred at Rouen; and on the way to that city, was placed for a night in the cathedral church of Mans: but, the next morning, when the bearers were going to continue their journey, the bishop and clergy of Mans, encouraged and assisted by a multitude of the people, forbade them to remove it, and buried it in the choir, where the body of his grandfather, Geoffrey Plantagenet,

BOOK V.
A. D. 1183.

Diceto.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,

genet, lay. A few days afterwards, the arch-bishop of Rouen, and the Norman clergy and people, sent a message to Mans, threatening, that, if the inhabitants of that town did not restore to them the corpse thus violently detained, they would come and force it from them. Nevertheless their demand was obstinately refused, and a war was breaking out on this extraordinary quarrel, when the king heard the cause, and determined the dispute in favour of Rouen, as it was proved that his son had chosen that city for the place of his burial. To produce such a contest, there must have been something uncommonly amiable in the character of that prince! Accordingly Gervase, a contemporary writer, speaking of the nobles who joined him and his mercenary forces a little before his decease, says “ *that some came out of enmity to the king his father, others wishing to pull down his brother Richard, but all from a desire to make him victorious: for he was amiable to all, of a beautiful countenance, and second to none in the glory of military prowess; humble, docile, and affable, so that he was greatly and universally beloved. On the contrary, Richard was so bated by all men, that they desired to expell him even from his own territories.* And Giraldus Cambrensis, in a book which he published soon after the death of this young king, paints him in much the same colours. William of Newbury, who speaks the most unfavourably of him, confesses that his character, even after his death, was highly

Gervase, col.
1469.

Topographia
Hiberniæ,
p. 752.

highly extolled by the general voice of mankind, and adds, "*that some had so much impudence as to spread a report of many miraculous cures performed at his tomb, in order to raise a belief that his cause was just, or that his death-bed repentance had gained him a more than ordinary portion of the divine favour.*"

It is well that the pope was against him in this quarrel; for had his rebellion been favoured by the see of Rome and the clergy, these stories might have found a sufficient degree of credit to make him a saint, and his father might have gone in pilgrimage to his tomb, as he did to that of Becket.

One circumstance, not remarked by any writer of those times, deserves observation. Though this prince, on his death-bed, declared such deep contrition for having offended his father, he sent no message to his brother Richard, nor expressed any sorrow for what he had done against him, nor any desire to be reconciled to him before he died! This indicates an opinion, strongly rooted in his mind, that his cause against Richard was just and good, or a hatred so implacable, that it would not give way even to a death-bed repentance! One may therefore well doubt, considering the animosity between these two princes and the high spirit in both, whether, if God had prolonged the life of the eldest, all their father's intercessions, or all his authority, could have ever persuaded them to live with each other in true fraternal concord. But, by the death
of

of the young king, all controversy concerning the dutchy of Aquitaine and the homage due for it ceased. Richard owned the superiority of his father therein, and those who had resisted his being the ruler and administrator thereof during the life of his father, or inheriting it after the decease of that monarch, were entirely subdued. He was also heir apparent to the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and to the dutchy of Normandy, under which Geoffrey held Bretagne in fee: so that all his father's power and greatness on the continent would have descended to him, together with the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the sovereignty over the two last, as well as over the principalities (or kingdoms) of Wales, being annexed to the former. But Henry chose at this time, that Aquitaine should be transferred to John, the youngest of his three surviving sons, to be held in the same manner, as he before had desired that Richard should hold it, under homage to the eldest. From what motives he did this the contemporary historians have left us no account. It was not because a suitable apanage was otherwise wanting for John: the realm of Ireland, and the lands in England and Normandy secured to him by a promise of the earl of Gloucester's rich heiress to be given him in marriage, and the other fiefs granted to him, being an ample provision for any king's youngest son. The adding Aquitaine to them would have hindered him from residing so constantly

constantly in Ireland as the English interest there required, and have frustrated one great purpose, for which the measure of enfeoffing him in that kingdom had originally been taken. But the greatest objection to this proposal was, that, if Richard was not willing to part with the duchy, Henry's pressing him to it might probably kindle another civil war between the sons of that king, immediately after the extinguishing of the former, and be a source of perpetual discord in his family, which he should have endeavoured by all means to unite. There was good cause to think that Richard would not consent to such an alteration; and in fact, when his father desired him to give up the possession of Aquitaine to his brother John, and receive homage for it, he entreated a delay of two or three days, in order to consult his friends on the answer he ought to make; which being granted, he went from Normandy into Poitou, and sent from thence to his father a positive declaration, that he never would agree that any man but himself should possess those dominions. What consequences ensued will be mentioned hereafter, when an account has been given of some other preceding and important transactions.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1183.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. i.
f. 401.

On the death of young Henry there arose a dispute concerning his widow's dower, between his father and her brother Philip, to whose court she had gone when her husband first engaged in the late intestine war, as to an asylum she might want. Philip required that

Ibidem.

BOOK V.

A.D. 1183,

that Gisors, with all it's dependencies, which, he said, had been given as her marriage portion, should, on the death of her husband without issue, be returned; and that certain lands, which that prince had assigned for her dower, should be delivered to her. But Henry answered, that Gisors, with the whole Norman Vexin, belonged by ancient right to the dutchy of Normandy; and that Louis, Philip's father, had renounced all title to it, when his daughter was married. As for the lands which her husband had settled upon her, he said, a prior settlement had been made of them, by himself, on Eleanor, his queen; which he offered to prove in the king of France's own court. Philip could not say much to controvert the truth of any of these assertions; yet it was hard, that, because there had been an error in the settlement, his sister should have no dower. The matter, therefore; was, after some conferences about it, compromised in this manner, that, instead of what was demanded, she should have an annuity of two thousand seven hundred Angevin pounds for her life, payable to her at Paris; and that Philip and she should renounce all claim to Gisors, and to the whole Norman Vexin, on condition *that Henry should give them to either of his two unmarried sons in marriage with Adelaide, the other princess of France, who had been designed for Duke Richard.*

Benedict,
Abbas, t. ii,
f. 399.

This article shews, that some proposal of marrying this lady to John had been agitated
in

in the conferences between Henry and Philip preceding this agreement, and that Philip himself did not think her so far betrothed to Richard, as not to be at liberty, if all parties desired it, to marry his brother. The decree before mentioned of the second Lateran Council concerning contracts between infants was applicable here, and had, I presume, it's due weight. As for John, though a match between him and the daughter of William earl of Gloucester had been desired by his father and agreed to by her's, no contract had yet bound the parties to each other. It is highly probable that the cession of the dutchy of Aquitaine from Richard to John in fee was proposed by their father, as a means to make Philip consent the more willingly to this alteration. It was for the interest of the crown of France, that this mighty fief should be held by the youngest of the king of England's sons, who was to have no other dominions in France, nor any where else but in Ireland; rather than by the eldest, to whom, as heir apparent to his father, so many and so great would devolve. But why Henry should desire to transfer Adelais from the eldest to the youngest, against her first destination, and to facilitate that by likewise transferring the possession of Aquitaine, there does not appear any good political reason. It certainly was repugnant to what ambitious princes have usually most at heart, the preserving the succession to their territories and states, however numerous,

rous, or extensive, undivided and entire. One may therefore well suspect, that, meaning to keep the lady unmarried, he thought he should gain time by this negotiation, and find means to stop John, when once posselt of the dutchy, from concluding the marriage; as the tender age of that prince, who was but seventeen years old, would furnish him with a good excuse for delay. Whatsoever his motives were, after vainly endeavouring, for several months, to prevail upon Richard to give up these dominions, or some part of them, to John, he sent the latter and Geoffry to extort from that prince an involuntary consent by ravaging his domains. Yet he seems to have repented of this violent act as soon as had done it: for Richard not yielding to the terror of their arms, but, with some friends he had gained, or some troops he had hired, carrying fire and sword into Geoffrey's territories, the paternal authority was prudently interposed to put an end to their discord. But before I relate the manner in which this was done, notice must be taken that Henry, in his last conference with the king of France on this subject, when they came to the amicable agreement before mentioned, did homage to that monarch *for all his transmarine dominions*. If Philip was well pleased to receive this acknowledgement of vassalage from him, which he had withheld hitherto, and seemed unwilling to yield, he also had good reason to submit to it now; as the paying it for all his
fiefs

fiefs in France, without reserve or exception, was a public evidence that those parts allotted to his sons were held by them as *mesne* tenants or sub-vassals under him, not immediately under Philip; and that king's admission of it was a very important act for the settling of all doubts on this question hereafter.

The countess of Flanders had died in the autumn of the year eleven hundred and eighty three; which event giving hopes that the earl might have issue by another marriage, he proposed to wed Beatrix, the daughter of Alphonso king of Portugal, a young and beautiful princess: but, as soon as this was known, the king of France, who suspected that, if the earl should have an heir, the province of Vermandois, which he wanted to reannex to his royal domain, would not be given up, insisted on being put into present possession of it, affirming that the earl had promised to resign it if he had no son by his first wife. This demand being obstinately refused by that prince, a war was just breaking out between him and Philip in the spring of this year eleven hundred and eighty four; but, through Henry's mediation, they were brought to confer with each other at Choisi, where he laboured to put an amicable end to this dispute, but could only prevail with them to conclude a truce, which was to last for a year from the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. Soon after that day the infant of Portugal, who had landed at Rochelle, and had been conducted

Benedict.
Abbas,
f. 402, 403.
Diceto,
ad ann. 1184.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 405.
Gervase.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 403.

BOOK V. from thence by Henry's officers, at his charge, through many of his territories, was met by the earl at a castle on the borders of Normandy, and married to him there. But Henry himself had before, on the earl's invitation, past through Flanders in returning out of France into England, from whence he now had been absent, much against his own will, above two years. The earl conducted him, with great honours, as far as the port of Witsand, where leaving all his train, he took only one ship, which carried him to Dover, and was ordered back to bring over the dutchess of Saxony, who, with the rest of his household, were very near being shipwrecked by a violent storm, which caught them in their passage. On her arrival at the palace of her father in Winchester, her mother, Queen Eleanor, was released from the custody in which she had been some years confined, and allowed to go to her. It is said that this favour was owing to the intercession of the archbishop of Canterbury : but probably, other causes concurred to procure it ; for Henry had talked, the year before, of sending her into Aquitaine, to reside there on those lands which he had assigned for her dower, but which then were demanded by the king of France, as a dower for his sister ; and many other secret motives may have determined her husband to take the occasion of her daughter's coming over, to set her free at this time. The dutchess was soon afterwards delivered of a son, whom his royal grandfather named, at his baptism, William,

Benedict.
Abbas.

Ibidem.
Hoveden.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 410, 411.

Ibidem,
f. 407, 408.

William, and to whom, in his riper years, the surname of Longsword was given by the Germans. From this prince, in whose veins the blood of the antient kings of England and Scotland, of the dukes of Normandy, and of the earls of Anjou, was mingled with that of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, is descended the illustrious house of Hanover, since called to the imperial throne of Great Britain.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1184.

The duke of Saxony, after the pilgrimage he had made to Saint James of Compostella, had returned into Normandy, and resided there with his wife, in the court of his father-in-law, from the end of the year eleven hundred and eighty-two till Henry's return into England: but he did not go with that prince, being detained by some cause which I do not find well explained in the history of those times, till about the beginning of August in this year eleven hundred and eighty-four, when he landed at Dover, and was kindly received by the king, who paid him all the same honours as if he had been still in the highest exaltation of his former state and power. Before his arrival, his daughter, the princess Matilda, being with her mother in England, had been asked in marriage by William the Lion, king of Scotland; a very advantageous proposal, to which Henry and the dutchess had gladly consented: but, the parties being third cousins, it was necessary to have a dispensation from Rome, and an application for one had been immediately made by William to Pope Lucius.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 410, 411.

Ibidem,
f. 407, 408.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1184.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

F. 412, 413.

Ibidem.

Hoveden.

While the answer was expected, the archbishop of Cologne, accompanied by the earl of Flanders, came to Canterbury, on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb. Henry met them at Dover, and, after they had put up their prayers to the saint, brought them with him to London, of which metropolis all the citizens received them crowned with garlands; a demonstration of joy, which, a contemporary writer tells us, had never been shewn before. It appears very evident, that pilgrimages to Becket were now made a pretence to carry on the intrigues of princes and great men of other countries with Henry. The earl of Blois, who is called, by an author of those times, *first minister of France*, had lately used the same cover for a visit to that king, with whom he stayed fifteen days. And it cannot be doubted that business, not devotion, brought over the archbishop of Cologne into England; for he came with powers from the emperor, on some overtures made by Henry, to conclude a marriage between Richard, now that monarch's eldest son, and the emperor's daughter. It was this which occasioned the extraordinary honours paid to him by Henry, whose desire to put an unsurmountable bar between Richard and the princess Adelaïs of France would have been fully accomplished by his marrying another: and in point of alliance, the emperor's daughter would have been the best amends for his losing the match with the king of France's sister. This affair was therefore settled before the archbishop departed

departed out of England, and pledges were given on both sides. Henry likewise took advantage of the present opportunity to endeavour to reconcile this powerful prelate to the duke of Saxony, whose capital enemy he had been; and some authors affirm, he happily succeeded therein; but Gervase of Canterbury says, with much more probability, that he failed of his purpose. Nevertheless he sent ministers to a council appointed to be held at Verona, not long after this time, under the emperor and the pope, with instructions to request the friendly intercessions of the latter with the former in behalf of the duke.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1184.

Benedict.

Abbas,

Hoveden.

Gervase,

Chron. col.

1458.

The conjuncture seemed favourable to such a negotiation; Henry having conferred a great obligation on Lucius, a few months before. The citizens of Rome had rebelled against that pontiff, for having refused to confirm certain privileges or customs, which, under his predecessors, they had freely enjoyed; and, though the emperor's chancellor, the archbishop of Mentz, had assisted him in this quarrel by the orders of his master, yet, he and many of his troops having perished by sickness (the usual effect of the Roman Campagna on strangers) the rest dispersed; and the pope was driven to such straits, that he applied to all the princes and clergy in Europe who were of his communion, for an aid in money, to defend the patrimony of St. Peter against the Romans. The nuncios sent on this business found Henry in Normandy, who would not

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

ad ann. 1183.

1184.

Hoveden.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

return any answer till he had taken the sense of his English bishops upon it; and these, being convened by Richard de Lucy, represented to the king, that, if he allowed the nuncios to come into England for the collecting of this money, it might be made a precedent for future demands to the detriment of the kingdom: wherefore they ~~they~~ desired (*as a more tolerable evil*) that he would let them repay to him any sum which he should be pleased to give, *as from himself*, to the pope. This counsel was prudent, and Henry acted by it; but his Holiness had the subsidy, which he very much wanted; and such a service demanded some gratitude on his part. Nor was it improbable that the emperor would favour the duke of Saxony at this juncture of time, when the brother of the dutchess was to marry his daughter, and when, by the death of Otho count of Wittelsbach, which had happened in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, the dutchy of Bavaria, which after the proscription of Henry the Lion had been given to that lord, was left to an infant. In order, therefore, that the duke might be enabled to profit by this event, his father-in-law desired, that the pope would absolve him from the oath he had taken, not to return into Germany before the end of three years, and that the emperor would consent to his returning immediately, for the purpose of soliciting the states of the empire to restore to him some part of his Bavarian dominions. What this negotiation at
Verona

Verona produced, I shall have occasion to relate hereafter; but, in giving an account of the transactions of the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, it must be observed, that the earl of Flanders, when he came to Canterbury in company with the archbishop of Cologne, had, as well as that prelate, other business in England than devotion to St. Thomas. They were closely united in confederacy against the king of France, if that monarch should persist, as it seemed he would do, in demanding a present cession of the Vermandois from the earl. What instructions the archbishop, as minister to the emperor, had received from his master concerning this affair, we are not told: but that the main intent of this visit to Becket's sepulchre was to try, by a personal treaty with Henry, to draw him into a league against the French monarch, may reasonably be supposed; and perhaps the neutrality he resolved to observe determined the emperor to take no direct or open part in this quarrel. Nevertheless, when the earl and his ally the archbishop were returned into Flanders, they attacked the count of Hainault, father-in-law to King Philip, on account (as they gave out) of his having encroached, while they were in England, on the territory of Flanders, by attempting to erect a fortress there. But the real offence was his abetting the demand Philip made of the Vermandois; and therefore that monarch, though ill prepared for a war, which he did not then expect, took up arms to defend him. Thus

BOOK V. the truce which King Henry had concluded
 A. D. 1184. was broken, and the earl, at the head of a

Gul. Armori-
 cus, f. 72, 73.

very numerous army, passed the Somme and the Oise, declaring he would not stop till he had planted his standards in the city of Paris.

But, while he was besieging the castle of Be-tifi in the neighbourhood of Senlis, (a place now gone to ruin) Philip joined to the vassals whom he could speedily draw together a strong body of Brabanters, which he found means to hire, and marched from Compeigne, declaring a resolution to fight with the Flemings. On advice of his approach, the earl raised the siege, and retired back to the Somme, desiring to make himself master of Corbie on the banks of that river, before he should give the king battle. The outward wall was forced by him: but whilst he was assaulting, or preparing to assault, the inward enclosure, Philip again came towards him; whereupon he desisted from this enterprise also, with much disgrace to his arms. Corbie being thus saved, the king advanced towards Amiens, and laid siege to Boves, a fortress situated about four miles from that city. The earl encamped so near to him, that it was expected a battle would be fought the next day: but, through the mediation of the archbishop of Rheims, who not long before had been made a cardinal, and his brother the earl of Blois, who led the king's troops, a peace was agreed to, which the earl bought very dear (as the French historians say) by yielding to Philip the present possession

V. Rigordum
 de Gestis
 Philippi
 Augusti.

possession of the Vermandois with all its dependancies, and making compensation to the count of Hainault for the damages done to him : but our writers affirm that the treaty was not brought to it's full conclusion this year ; and it is probable that the earl chicaned and delayed it by every artifice he could use. There is reason to believe, that, when he first drew the sword and passed the Somme, he thought the forces which Philip could presently bring to oppose him very unequal to his, and had no apprehension of that king's employing the Brabanters, whom the whole church had proscribed, against whom a pious league had lately been formed by many of Philip's subjects, and of whom above seven thousand had, but the year before, been cut to pieces in Berry, by the people of that province assisted by some troops which he had sent to their aid. Such a measure was indeed very odious to the nation : but these mercenary bands, being always kept on foot and ready for action, were so useful to princes who had money to hire them, on any sudden exigence, that no censures of the church, no execrations of the people, no experience of the mischiefs they often caused in a kingdom, could deter even those kings who affected (as Philip did) to seem very religious and to court popularity, from taking them into their pay ! Yet, whatever present benefit may have sometimes attended the employing of such troops, a regular standing army of national forces, well disciplined

A. D. 1184.

V. Gulielm.

Armoricum.

apud

Duchefne,

t. v. f. 12, 13.

V. Rigord. et

Gul. Armor.

ad ann. 1183.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1184.

and maintained under proper legal checks, is a far better defence and security to a state; the want of which in those countries where feudal governments were established produced the great evil of encouraging mercenaries, collected (as these were) from many different nations, and tied to none by the bonds of loyalty or affection, but sold by their leaders to those who would purchase them at the highest price, for any good or bad purpose.

I have said that King Henry, who was always unwilling to enter into any war which could well be avoided, remained neutral in this: yet he did not forbid one of his principal nobles to serve the earl of Flanders, in whose court that valiant lord had received his education, who had made him a knight, and under whom he held some fiefs: I mean William de Mandeville earl of Essex and Albemarle, the last of which earldoms he had gained in the year eleven hundred and eighty, through the favour of Henry, by a marriage with the heiress, a ward of the crown. Nor was his being permitted to take this part considered in those days as any breach of the friendship which his sovereign cultivated with the king of France.

The commotions, which had happened on the borders of South Wales, while Henry was abroad, had now got to such a height, that Rhees ap Gryffyth himself, whom that king had made his justiciary in those parts, and who had done him very loyal and affectionate

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 416.

Dugdale's
Baronage,
MANDEVILLE.
LE.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 408.

tionate services upon other occasions, was in open rebellion together with two of his nephews, and had taken, by force of arms, some castles and lands in South Wales which belonged to the crown. Henry, therefore, as soon as his other affairs would permit, raised an army, and marched at the head of it himself against this prince, who, terrified at his coming, desired a safe conduct to wait upon him at Worcester, where he promised upon oath to give him his son for an hostage, restore all his late conquests, and do every thing in his power to reduce both his nephews to an intire submission. That he might be enabled to perform these engagements, a truce was granted to him, at the expiration of which he came again to the king, who then was at Gloucester, but did not bring with him either his son or his nephews; the latter refusing to come, or even to lay down their arms on the terms prescribed to them. Yet the king was induced, on conferring with this prince, to desist from his purpose of marching into Wales; which indicates that he thought the appeasing of these troubles would be better effected, in the present state of things, by fair means than by force, and that Rhees, who was suffered to return freely thither, had good intentions towards him, and might be useful there.

Benedict.
Abbas, c. ii.
f. 411.

During the course of these events, in the year eleven hundred and eighty four, some occurrences of importance, relating to the church, had happened in England. On the sixteenth
of

BOOK V. of February, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, a man of great integrity and simplicity of heart, not so learned, we are told, as some of the prelates contemporary with him, but excelling them all in the moderation and mildness of his principles and his temper, which, so long as he lived, were very serviceable to Henry in resisting and keeping down that violent spirit, which Becket had excited in the clergy of England against the civil power. The king was desirous that Baldwin, then bishop of Worcester, should be chosen in his place; and the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury unanimously concurred in electing him for their primate; but the monks of the convent of Christ Church in that city, had, without consulting them, or any but their own body, elected to that dignity the abbot of Battle, who had formerly been their prior; nominating also three others, out of which number the king, if he did not approve of the abbot, might chuse him he liked best. He rejected all the four; and in the end, after much negociation about it, they declared the election made by the bishops to be wholly null and void, but chose Baldwin themselves. There was really no exclusive right of election either in them or the bishops; the practice having been constant that they should all join therein, and the pope himself, on this occasion, having written to the bishops, as well as to the monks, a mandatory letter, requiring them to chuse an archbishop of Canterbury

Diceto, col.
619.

bury within the term of two months. During the heat of this dispute the prior of the convent, who had been very active in asserting and supporting the claim of his monks, coming to wait on the king and the earl of Flanders at Canterbury, the king said to the earl, so loud as to be heard by others there present, *that this*

BOOK V.
A. D. 1184.
Gervase,
Caron. col.
1368.

arrogant man desired to make an archbishop of Canterbury, according to his own pleasure, and to become another pope in England. The earl replied as loudly, *that, rather than bear with such insolence, he would burn all the churches in his dominions.* If we may believe an account which one of the convent has given in his history of those times, even the expedient which Henry was forced to come into for the ending of this business, though no very good one, was not obtained from the monks without such condescensions and entreaties from him, as were very unsuitable to the majesty of his crown. But the state of the times, and a very eager wish that the bishop of Worcester should be speedily and unanimously chosen archbishop, made him think any means of carrying that point more desirable than delay.

Ibidem.

Presently after this election, information being given by one of the bishops, that Baldwin had held a private conference with them, concerning the reformation of the state of the church, and had promised to assist them in endeavouring to effect it, and likewise *to repair it's shattered liberties,* Henry called them before him, and with tears in his eyes complained;

Gervase, col.
1795.

plained; *“that he was a miserable man and no king; or, if a king, had only the name of that dignity without the power. That the kingdom of England had once been an opulent and a glorious kingdom, but was now divided into so many small parcels, that a very scanty portion was left to him unimpaired; most of it being possessed by black monks and white monks; or by different orders of canons regular, and no little part by foreign ecclesiastics, not one of whom he could, with a safe conscience, promote to a bishoprick or abby.”* He also drew a strong picture of the vices and debauchery of the parochial clergy, asking the bishops, *“how he or they should be able to answer for such things to the justice of God. Besides (said he) those at Rome, from the weakness they see in you, domineer over us without mercy; they sell their letters to us; they do not seek justice, but litigious contention; they multiply appeals, they fleece the suitors, and desiring nothing but money confound truth and destroy peace. What shall we say to these things? How shall we clear ourselves of them in the dreadful day of judgement? Go and consult together about some effectual course to prevent these enormities.”*

By this discourse Henry tried to stimulate and encrease in the minds of his bishops that jealousy of the wealth and power of the monks, which he knew to be strong at this time, and which he hoped might incline them to
make

make a common cause with him, in order to curb for the future the insolence of these men, prouder of their cowls than the prelates were of their mitres. It is also evident that he fought, by his complaints against Rome, to persuade them, instead of combining with that see in support of what they called *the liberties of the Church*, to join with him in restraining the intolerable abuses of the papal dominion, and the vices of the clergy over whom they were placed. But, they all standing silent, and after some delay asking counsel of him, he perceived that they feared to engage themselves too far in his designs, and was sensible that the temper of the new elected primate was not so favourable as that of his predecessor had been to what he wished in church-matters: wherefore he went no further now, than to advise them to check the incontinence of their clergy, and oppose institutions of secular canons in all the cathedral churches to monastic foundations. This counsel being relished, and archbishop Baldwin proposing, not long after this time, to build a college near to Canterbury for secular canons, the monks of that cathedral resisted the design with implacable fury, and great troubles arose from this dispute, of which, in its proper place, some account will be given.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1184.

Gervase. col.
1595, 1596.

A great number of the nobles and people of England having assembled at London, to assist at the ceremony of chusing a new primate, Henry caused his three sons to be reconciled

Benedict.
Abbas.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1184.

ciled to each other before them all ; soon after which Geoffrey was sent into Normandy, and put at the head of a council of regency entrusted by Henry with the government of that dutchy during his absence. It appears that the cession of the dutchy of Aquitaine from Richard to John, under homage to the former, was not insisted on now : and we do not find, that, either now or ever after this time, the former proposal of marrying Adelaïs of France to John instead of Richard was mentioned by their father ; one reason of which may have been, that the emperor's daughter, whom Richard was to marry, on giving up his pretensions to the king of France's sister, was lately dead : an event by which Henry's purposes, both public and private, were grievously disconcerted !

While that king was employed in terminating the contention about Baldwin's election, his ministers, who had gone to ask a dispensation from Pope Lucius the Third for the marriage of his grand-daughter with the king of Scotland, returned unsuccessful. It seems strange that the Roman see, which has often allowed uncles to marry their nieces, should not suffer this prince, who besought it's indulgence, to marry his third cousin : but this scruple, I presume, had no other cause, than his non-compliance with what the sovereign pontiff required in behalf of John Scot, whom he had not yet admitted into the bishoprick of Dunkeld.

Henry was not prevented, by his application to these important affairs, from attending, with

with more than ordinary care, to a favourite object, the preservation of the royal woods and game. All the forests in England had been hitherto under one chief justice in eyre; but this year, upon the death of Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who had succeeded to Alan de Nevil in that office, Henry made a division of them into several parts; and set over each four justices, two ecclesiasticks and two knights. He likewise placed in each two gentlemen of his household as verduers and keepers, with authority over all his foresters, and those of the barons and knights. These were sworn to observe an *assize of the forest* now made, wherein he strictly forbade all persons whatsoever to offend against him with respect to his game or his forests, and warned them not to trust, that, in case of their so offending, they should enjoy, for the future, the benefit of his mercy, as they had done hitherto, by suffering only in their goods: *for it was his will that full justice should be done on all persons duly convicted thereof, as in the time of his grandfather Henry the first, by the loss of their eyes, and castration.*

From hence it appears that the laws of the three first Norman kings, relating to forests, had not been repealed or altered by this prince; but that his mercy and goodness had prevented a rigorous execution thereof; mulcts or forfeitures of the chattels of offenders against them having been accepted instead of the corporal punishments which had before been inflicted.

It

BOOK V. It likewise appears, from the testimony of writers contemporary with him, that the menace of greater severity, now thrown out, was never executed by him. Why he chose, by the harshness of such a declaration, to lose the honour he had gained by the laudable clemency of his former proceedings, no reason is given. Probably he found, that, notwithstanding the heavy mulcts imposed for trespasses in his forests, the same practices still continued: but no benefit which this odious threat could produce was a compensation for the unpopularity of it; and if as a man he did well in not executing what he threatened, as a king he did ill in appearing to his people less humane than he was.

Other clauses in this edict prohibited the keeping of any bows, hounds, or greyhounds, within a royal forest, or the purlieus thereof, without a warrant from the king, or from some other person who had power to grant it, and the selling or destroying woods within the precincts of such forest; but allowed earls, barons, and freeholders, having such woods, to take from thence what they wanted for their necessary uses, without waste, and with the view of the king's foresters. These were ordered to superintend the foresters of knights and others who had woods within his forests, and to take care that the woods were not destroyed; and notice was given to the owners, that, if such destruction happened, the amends would be taken from them and from their lands,

lands, not from any other person. The king's foresters were to swear that they would observe this assize to the utmost of their power, and not vex any knights, or other honest men, in the enjoyment of those rights which the king granted to them in his forests.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1184.

It was well for the nation, when the charters of King John and Henry the Third rendered that mitigation of the Norman forest laws, which under Henry the Second was only a favour held during his pleasure, the legal right of the subject. It may be inferred from those charters, that some enlargements of the bounds of the royal forests had been made during the reign of this prince; but they distinguished between the afforestings under him and those under the two succeeding kings, by ordering all the latter to be instantly disforested, unless they were of woods confessedly belonging to the royal demesne; whereas the former were to be viewed, and it was to be found by the inquisition of a jury, whether they were encroachments on the rights of others, or were not. It is probable that some were; yet not, I presume, from any desire in this king to invade with the hand of power the property of his subjects, but by the fault of those officers who administered justice between him and the borderers in some of his forest courts.

See Blackstone's great charter and charter of the forests.

Soon after Christmas, in this year eleven hundred and eighty four, Richard had leave from his father to go into Poitou, which

Benedict. Abbas, t. ii. f. 432.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1185.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

f. 432.

would not have been granted if the purpose of transferring the dutchy of Aquitaine from him to John had not been now laid aside. While Henry was at Winchester, about the beginning of the year eleven hundred eighty five, the ministers he had sent to the emperor and the pope, in behalf of the duke of Saxony, returned to him from Verona, with a favourable answer to all his requests. Yet that prince did not use the liberty granted to him of returning into Germany till the end of this year.

Ibidem.

Early in February some affairs called Henry to York, and he had proceeded as far as Nottingham on his way to that city, when hearing that Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the knights hospitalers, were landed in England, he returned towards London, and met them at Reading. The patriarch, weeping, threw himself at his feet, and addressed him in words to this effect: *“ My lord the king, our Lord Jesus Christ calls you, and the cries of his people invite you, to the defence of the Holy Land. Behold the keys of its forts, which the king and nobles of the realm transmit to you by me, because you are the only one, in whom, under God, they place their trust and hope of their preservation. Come then, sir, and delay not to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies: forasmuch as Saladin, the chief enemy of the cross of Christ, and all the nations round about us, arrogantly boast, that they will speedily invade*
the

the Holy Land (which God avert.)". At the end of his speech Henry took him by the hand, and raised him up, saying, "May our Lord Jesus Christ, the only powerful king, be the defender of his people, and we, assisted by him, to whom honour and glory belong, will (as far as we are able) co-operate with him therein." After these words he received from the

hands of the Patriarch the keys of Jerusalem and of all the principal forts belonging to that realm, with those of the sepulchre in which Christ had been buried, and the royal banner, as a mark that the king of Jerusalem committed to him the chief command of his forces: but all these he soon afterwards returned to the custody of the prelate who had brought them, till he should have the advice of his bishops and nobles concerning this affair. There was likewise delivered to him, by the same hand, a letter from Pope Lucius, exhorting him to consider the great and imminent danger, that a land, which had been consecrated by the blood of Christ shed upon it, should be polluted by the filth of Mahometan superstition, and after having been freed from the yoke of the infidels, with many labours and perils, by his glorious predecessors, should now again be subjected to their tyranny: for the preventing of which irreparable loss to the Christian religion, his Holiness urged him to receive these ambassadors, *as sent from Christ himself*, and concluded the exhortation with gently reminding him of the vow he had made, and recommending it to his wisdom and serious me-

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 429.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1185.

ditation to ponder with himself, how his conscience would be able to answer on that point to the infallible and tremendous judgement of God.

Such indeed was the state of the Holy Land at this time, that without the intervention of extraordinary aid from the European powers it could not be saved. Since the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when Lewis and Henry had joined in promising to defend it, the circumstances of it had continually changed from bad to worse. Baldwin the Fourth, who reigned over it, and had been always infirm, was, soon after he attained to the full age of manhood, afflicted with a leprosy, which obliged him, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, to retire from all business, and commit his realm to a regent, in the appointment of whom he suffered his affections to impose on his judgement. The earl of Tripoly, who had held that arduous post with no small reputation, in the nonage of this prince, was not called to it now; but the choice of Baldwin fell on Guy de Lusignan, who, having treacherously murdered the earl of Salisbury in Poitou, had fled from the justice of King Henry the Second, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight, and had found an asylum in the court of Jerusalem, where, after some time, the beauty of his person, more than any other merit, endeared him to Sibylla, the king's eldest sister, and the widow of William Longsword, second son of the
marquis

Gul. Tyrius,
de Bello Sacro,
l. 22.

marquis of Montferrat. This princess, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, prevailed on her brother, whose favour her lover had gained, to let her marry that lord without the consent of the barons of his realm. The same influence which induced him to approve of so unequal and so improper a match, was also the cause of his now entrusting Guy with the administration of his realm, only reserving to himself the city of Jerusalem and a pension of ten thousand crowns of gold. But, soon afterwards, thinking that the air of Jerusalem increased his distemper, he desired to exchange that city for Tyre, which the regent, with no less folly than ingratitude, refused to grant. This incensed him so much, that, resuming the government, and associating with himself the son of Sibylla by her first husband, an infant of no more than five years old, he took from Lusignan all power, and the hopes of succeeding to the crown of Jerusalem, which, by creating him earl of Joppa and Ascalon, (a dignity appropriated to the presumptive heir) he had before given to him. The great council, desirous of any alteration which would free them from a master they did not esteem, gladly concurred in this act; nor did Sibylla oppose it, being sensible that his power could not then be maintained against her brother's will, and wishing thus to secure the crown to her son. But the association of a child to the government gave no strength to the kingdom, nor any help to the king, whose life was

Gul. Tyrius
de Bello Sacro,
l. xxii.

almost extinguished. A state so ruled was in danger, without any external foe, of destroying itself; and, while this was so weak, it's most formidable enemy strengthened himself by new conquests. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, Saladin made himself master of the city of Aleppo and it's whole principality; after which acquisition, all Syria being his, except what belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the great danger of this also becoming his prey forced Sibylla, who governed in the name of her brother and of her infant son, to call the earl of Tripoly to the administration, with the title of regent. That prince, well discerning the urgent necessity of a foreign assistance; and believing, on good grounds, that none so effectual could any where be obtained as from Henry, king of England, sent the embassy above-mentioned, in the year eleven hundred and eighty four, but ordered the ambassadors to go by Rome, and endeavour to procure the pope's intercession to forward their business, which Lucius the Third, whom they found at Verona, very willingly granted to them, by writing to Henry the letter on that subject, of which I have given the contents.

On the first Sunday of Lent in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, a great council, to which the king of Scotland was summoned, with all the barons of that realm, now subjected to England, met at London, to consult with their sovereign on this matter, and

and (as some writers say) unanimously came to this resolution, that it would be proper for Henry to advise thereupon with his liege lord, the king of France. Indeed, for him to have taken upon himself the whole burthen of defending the Holy Land, without the aid of that monarch, who had promised to join him, would have been most improper. But others tell us, that, after long deliberation, whether it would be most advisable for the king, to succour in person the people of Jerusalem, or continue to govern the kingdom of England according to his coronation oath, the whole assembly resolved, that *to rule his own subjects with due moderation, and to defend them from foreign enemies, was more expedient and much more for the good of his soul, than to risk his person in taking care of a people in the East.* A most wise determination, which, had it been adhered to in the following reign, would have saved Henry's successor, and the whole English nation, from many great evils!

The patriarch, who was present at this consultation, together with his colleague, the master of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, desired that Prince Richard, or Geoffry Plantagenet, might, as the parliament judged it inexpedient, at this time, for King Henry, their father, to go to the Holy Land, be sent thither in his stead: but, as they both were in France, nothing could be resolved on, with relation to them, in their absence. Yet, lest it should be thought, that this embassy from Jerusalem had

Diceto Imag.
Hist. col. 626.
Gervase,
Chron.

Gervase.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1185.

V. Rymer's
Fœd. et. 1.
ad ann. 1182.
t. i. p. 57.
See it also in
the Appendix.

G. de Vine-
sauf Ric. Reg.
Hierosolym.
l. i. c. 12.

Rymer's.
Fœd. ut sup. ra.

been wholly unsuccessful, many Englishmen were allowed to enlist themselves for the holy war by receiving the cross from the hands of the patriarch, and Henry promised a subsidy of fifty thousand marks, equivalent to one of five hundred thousand pounds sterling given in these days. He had likewise by a will made at Wal-
tham, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-
two, bequeathed to the general defence of the Holy Land five thousand marks, over and above another sum, not specified in the will, which he had committed to the custody of the masters of the temple and hospital in Jerusalem, some time before, to be employed for that purpose, unless he should in his life-time resume the deposit. An historian, who wrote the best relation we have of the ensuing crusade, says, it was reported that this money, remitted by degrees, through the course of many years, amounted in the whole to thirty thousand marks, which afterwards were laid out in many useful services, and particularly in defending the city of Tyre. There was also in the will a further bequest of ten thousand marks to the two religious houses of the templars and hospital-
tallers, and of five thousand more to all the other convents and hospitals in Jerusalem: so expensive to England was the zeal of this king for the welfare of that city, or his submission to the penance which the pope had laid upon him for having given occasion to the murder of Becket! All the rest of this testament consisted of pious or charitable devises, amounting to
great

great sums; the best-directed of which were three hundred marks of gold to provide marriage portions for poor young women of free condition in England, a hundred to the same use in Normandy, and a hundred in Anjou, with some legacies left to houses for the reception of lepers in England and Normandy. At the conclusion the king adjures his sons on the fealty they owed to him, and on the oath they had taken, to see the whole firmly and inviolably observed, under the pain of incurring his malediction. He also laid an injunction upon all his prelates, archbishops and bishops, in England and beyond the sea, that, conformably to the oath which they had taken to him, and their duty to him and to God, they should excommunicate all who should presume to infringe any article of his will; and notified to them (which is very remarkable) *that the pope had confirmed it under his hand and seal, and had denounced an anathema against any by whom it should be obstructed or infringed.*

BOOK V.
A.D. 1185.

The donations of lands or revenues made to Prince John in the convention of the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, between the king and his sons, were not mentioned in this will, but left to stand on the sanction given to them in that act.

Soon after the breaking up of the great council assembled on the affair of the holy war, the king held another in his castle of Windsor, wherein he gave to the king of Scotland the earldom of Huntingdon, escheated to the crown by

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 411, 415.

BOOK V. by the death of Simon de Senlis earl of Northampton, without issue. Many others laid claim to it, on different titles, and, agreeably to the scandalous practice of that age, made large offers to Henry for permission to prosecute their suit in his court: but, whether he thought that the Scotch royal family had clearly the best right, or weighed the question in the scales of policy, not of justice, he restored to William the earldom which that king and his brother David, infeoffed in it by him, had formerly enjoyed many years, till on account of the unjustifiable part they had taken in the young king Henry's rebellion, it was given to Simon, the late earl of Northampton, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four. William now renewed the grant he had made before to his brother, who held it of him in fee.

In this council Prince John was knighted by his father, who sent him from thence into Ireland, to govern that isle, under him, as a feudal dominion, according to the resolution declared in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven. The jealousy of Hugh de Lacy's affecting an independent and regal power in that country, which was the cause of his being recalled into England in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, had been so far removed, that after an absence of six or seven months, he was ordered to return, and reinstated in his post of deputy; but Henry sent over with him a trusty ecclesiastic, named Robert

Hibernia
Expugn. l. ii.
c. 22.

Neubrigensis,
l. iii. c. 4.
Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 19.

bert de Salop, to assist him as a counsellor, and to be in reality an authorised spy on his conduct. Notwithstanding this curb, he so administered the government, that, although he served the crown well in bridling the Irish with forts, of which he built a great number, and alluring them with good usage to return to the lands which they had before deserted, the former suspicions of his ambitious designs were continually strengthened. For he drew to himself the general love of that nation, by his courtesy to the people and familiarity with their chiefs, whose pride the greater distance, at which they had been kept by most of his predecessors, had extremely offended. Nor did he fail to attach very strongly to his service the English under his banner, by large and liberal grants, giving to them even lands that belonged to the crown in several parts of the kingdom. With the Geraldine family, distinguished by their valour, and much beloved by the troops, he made a close alliance, marrying his niece to one of them, namely Meyler Fitz-Henry, whose veins were full both of Welsh and English royal blood. The strength he gained by this match enabled him to controul all the other English nobles inhabiting Ireland, and to treat them as his subjects. Indeed it appears that his talents for government were much superior to theirs, and that Henry, in committing the care of the realm to him, would have made a wise choice, if it were safe for a king to have a lieutenant very able and

and great, in a part of his empire remote from his own eye, and not fully reduced under the power of laws.

Hibern. Ex-
gugn. l. ii.
c. 18.

Irish Annals,
continuation
of Tigernack,
ad ann. 1182.

From the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when the province of Cork or South Munster had been equally parted between Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen, they had quietly governed it, in good harmony with each other, and constant peace with the natives, during almost five years. Before the end of that term, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, a conference being appointed by Milo de Cogan, with some English at Waterford, upon a plain near Lismore, while he waited for them there, a band of Irish armed with axes, under a chieftain of that country, named Mac Tyre, at whose house he had been asked to lodge that night, suddenly coming behind him, murdered him and five knights who were carelessly sitting by his side on the grass. Among these was a young and valiant son of Fitz-Stephen, lately married to Cogan's daughter. The news of their death had been hardly brought to that lord, when he was himself besieged in Cork by vast multitudes of the Irish, who under Dermot Mac Carthy, and almost all the other heads of clans in those parts, had joined Mac Tyre, whom they either had instigated to commit this murder, or desired to protect from the vengeance of the English, as soon as they heard the deed was done. But Raymond Fitz-Gerald, being apprised of the danger his uncle

Hibern. Ex-
gugn. l. ii.
c. 19.

was in, took shipping at Wexford with twenty brave English knights, and a hundred soldiers more, partly horsemen, partly archers, and sailed along the coast to Cork, which on the side of the sea was entirely open, as the Irish had no fleet. This succour enabled Fitz-Stephen to repel the assaults of the enemy, and forced their chiefs to a peace. It does not appear that Mac Tyre was delivered up to justice, as he ought to have been; but great numbers of the Irish are said to have fallen in the several actions after Raymond's arrival; and some of them left the country, among whom it is probable this traitor might fly from the punishment due to his crime, if he was not among the slain.

When intelligence came to King Henry in England of the death of Milo de Cogan, he sent Richard, the brother of the deceased, who was an officer not inferior to him either in courage or conduct, to be joined with Fitz-Stephen (as Milo had been) in the government of Cork, and to carry over with him a band of chosen soldiers, for a present recruit to the garrison of that town. An additional force came from Wales, at the end of February in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, under the conduct of Philip Barry, a nephew of Fitz-Stephen, for the defence of the province. Thus tranquillity was restored to the English colony in South Munster.

The Irish annals inform us, that, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, a civil war

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. ut su-
pra.

BOOK V. war breaking out between Roderick, king of Conaught, and his son Conor Manmoy, the father agreed to compose this unnatural quarrel, and restore peace to his country by retiring to a convent. This Irish monarch was most unhappy in his children. He had punished the revolt of one of his sons by putting out that prince's eyes, and was now deposed by another.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. c. 24.

About the beginning of September in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, a resolution being taken, by Henry and his council, to recal Hugh de Lacy a second time into England, Philip de Worcester, a courtier much in favour with the king and esteemed a good soldier, was sent into Ireland to govern that kingdom as deputy to Henry and his son Prince John, attended by a troop of forty knights. To this gentleman Lacy resigned the government, and together with that the custody of the capital, but found some excuse for not going to England, and retired into Meath, of which province Henry's grant had made him lord. The first act of his successor in the administration of the realm was to resume all the lands of the royal demesne which he had alienated from it and given to his friends. This being done without any opposition from him, that lord, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, went, at the head of the army of the crown, into the province of Ulster.

Irish Annals.

Donald O'Lachlyn, prince (or petty king) of Tyrone, having subdued a rebellion within his
own

Down district, had, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, led his forces to make war against John de Curcy, with whom he had a sharp conflict, but in the end was defeated. This battle, which was fought at Dunbo in Antrim, broke the strength of the Irish, and reduced all those parts under the power of the conqueror. But it was requisite that the natives of the whole realm of Ulster, who hitherto had not seen any general of the English except John de Curcy, should be taught by the presence of a lord lieutenant among them, at the head of a royal army, that there was in Ireland another officer, invested by king Henry and his son with a power superior to that baron's, and who was able to make himself obeyed, as well by him as by them. Philip de Worcester therefore marched into the heart of this province, and met with no resistance. At Armagh he obtained, or (as Giraldus Cambrensis says) *extorted* from the clergy, a tribute of some gold, on what pretence we know not; but that historian complains of it as *an execrable sacrilege*. Perhaps it was a fine for their having aided O'Lachlyn in the late war against Curcy, or their proportion of a general tribute demanded from all the Irish in Ulster, as an acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the crown of England over them, in like manner as all the other provinces in the island were tributary to Henry by virtue of former conventions. From Armagh the lord deputy went to Down-Patrick, John de Curcy's head

BOOK V.

head quarters, and having settled, to his mind, the king's affairs in that country, he left it, as before, under Curcy's guard and rule, and returned to Dublin before the end of March.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 23.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 776. ad
ann. 1182.
Hoveden, ad
eund. ann.

It has already been said that Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, had died in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; to whom, on the recommendation of Henry, succeeded an Englishman, whose name was Cumin, and who had been chaplain to that prince. The election was made at Evesham in Worcestershire, by some of the clergy of the city of Dublin, deputed to chuse him. The next year he received priests orders at Velitri from Pope Lucius the Third, and was afterwards consecrated archbishop of Dublin by that pontiff at Rome. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-four the king sent him into Ireland, where he remained till John came. On the last day of March in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five that prince went from Pembroke, conducted by the grand justiciary, Glanville, to embark in Milford Haven, where a fleet of sixty ships was prepared to transport a large body of cavalry, four hundred of which were knights, and another of foot, that were archers. With this army, which, added to the English forces in Ireland, appeared more than sufficient to establish his power over all the inhabitants of that isle, he arrived at Waterford on the first of April. The archbishop of Dublin and other English lords received him at his landing. These swore fealty to him; and soon afterwards

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 31.
Irish Annals,
ad ann. 1185.
Diceto, col.
626.

wards many chieftains of the Irish in those parts, who had always lived quietly under the English government from the time of their first submitting themselves to it, waited on him in Waterford, and congratulated him on his happy arrival among them, acknowledging him as their lord, and giving him what they called *the kiss of peace*. But he and the young nobles who attended upon him received them with derision, and some of these were so rude as to pull them by their beards, which, according to the ancient mode of their country, different from that of the Normans and English in those days, they wore long and thick. Uncivilised nations are proud, and more patiently bear oppression from foreigners than ridicule and contempt. The Irish, who thought very highly of themselves, and still more highly of their ancestors, whose customs they followed, were much enraged at this treatment. Those to whom the offence had been imprudently given withdrew themselves and the people of their clans or septs from their places of abode, as soon as they could, and took refuge in the territory of Donald O'Brian, prince (or king) of Limerick; to whom, and to Dermod Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, (who still retained the title of king of Cork) and to Roderick O'Conor king of Conaught, who, on this occasion, had come out of his spiritual retreat, they poured forth their complaints, with a warm indignation, against John and his courtiers, representing him as a boy, surrounded by other boys, who were his only counsellors, from

Hibern. Expugn. l. ii. c. 35.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1185.

whom no mature counsels, no steadiness, no security to the Irish nation, could be hoped for: but worse insults, worse injuries, must be daily expected, if these were tamely endured. The three princes could not doubt, that, if those of their countrymen who had always been peaceable and loyal to the English were treated in such a manner, they, who by frequent revolts had drawn on themselves the resentment of that nation, would have greater evils to fear: for which reason, instead of going to wait on John and swearing fealty to him, as they had intended to do, they pledged their faith to each other, that, laying aside their own quarrels, they would join to assert, at the peril of their lives, the ancient liberty, rights, and honour of their country. So important to a prince, in the outset of his government, are all his words and actions, and the conduct of those who are about his person! All that authority over the minds of the Irish, which the courtesy, gravity, and prudence of Henry, during his abode in their island, had happily gained, was lost in a few days by the petulant levity of John and his courtiers; the good will of that people, on which Henry had desired to establish his dominion, being instantly turned into a national hatred!

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

Of the events of the war which followed this league the abbot of Peterborough and Hoveden have left this short account, that John lost, in many conflicts, which he had with the Irish, almost his whole army; the greatest
part

part of it having forsaken his standard, and gone into the enemy's service; which desertion was caused by his having with-held from them, and applied to other uses, the money due for their wages. But Giraldus Cambrensis, who was with him in Ireland, imputes his bad success, not to any of his English soldiers deserting to the Irish, but to his being ill advised, ill served, and ill obeyed.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1185.

Hibern.
Expugn. l.ii.
c. 35.

This author says that he gave the lands of some Irish, who, from the first entrance of Fitz Stephen and Strongbow into their country, had faithfully served the English, to some of the new comers whom he had brought over with him; the effect of which was, that the former, by the knowledge they had gained while they lived in familiar acquaintance with the English, became useful informers and guides to the enemy in all attempts against them: That he committed the custody of the maritime cities and castles, with the districts adjacent, and the receipt of the tributes, which should have supplied the public services, to those who threw them away in useless expences, to maintain their own riots: That the care of the government and chief commands of the army were entrusted by him to men better skilled in the arts of peace than of war, who consequently did nothing against the enemy; and that all his household troops, pursuing the example set by their leaders, passed most of their time in the towns on the sea-coast,

given up to intemperance with women and wine, while the frontiers were exposed, without proper guards, to continual attacks, depredations, and burnings. The same writer adds, that the Welsh and English soldiers established in Ireland, to whose valour the conquest of that country was owing (so far as it had been conquered) were unemployed by this prince, who, from a jealousy of their chiefs, was unwilling to call them to join in any action with those he had brought over, or even to ask their advice; which they seeing, and repining that their services should be slighted, or their fidelity doubted, retired and were silent, while the want of their aid, and the ignorance, sloth, and debauchery of those whom John employed or consulted, entirely ruined his affairs.

From the Irish annals we learn, that presently after the arrival of John, Roderick O'Connor, assisted by Donald O'Brian, his half-brother, and the English of Munster, came out of the monastery, into which the rebellion of his son, Conor Manmoy, had forced him to retire, and recovered his throne from that prince, with whom he made some agreement, the particulars of which are not told. But the annals say that O'Brian, in the war which succeeded to this peace, defeated the English, and that an officer much in favour with John, whom they call his foster-brother, was slain in the battle. They likewise add that John sent heavy complaints into England against Hugh de Lacy, *who could not bear to have his govern-*
ment

ment of Ireland superseded by him, and used his utmost endeavours to strip him of his regal rights. BOOK V.
A. D. 1185.

From these words we may infer that one principal cause of John's misfortunes in Ireland was the discontent of this lord, who, by his extensive connexions, and the superiority of his talents, was able to obstruct all the measures of that prince, and to disgrace him in all his undertakings. Certain it is that King Henry, on the accounts he received of the state of things in that island, thought it necessary to recal his son from thence, and to give the entire administration of government, with the chief command of the forces, to the brave John de Curcy. On the seventeenth of December, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, the prince returned into England. But, before I relate the ensuing transactions in that country or in Ireland, notice must be taken of some preceding events, which, during the course of this year, had happened abroad.

On the sixteenth of April, King Henry, accompanied by the patriarch of Jerusalem and many English lords, passed from Dover to Whitland, and from thence into Normandy.

The king, on his first arrival in that dutchy, assembled his troops with all possible expedition, in order to force his son Richard, who, while he (the king) was in England, had ravaged the territories of Geoffrey in Bretagne, and still persisted in that unnatural war, to lay down his arms. What new quarrel had so soon disturbed the reconciliation between these two

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 35.
Benedict.
Abbas. Hoveden. Diceto.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ut suprà.

princes, which their father had made in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, no account is given to us in any history of those times. All we know is, that Richard was certainly the aggressor, and had acted against his father's prohibition in thus attacking his brother. It was probably at the head of some mercenary troops (the ready instruments of all evil) that he made these incursions; but, whatever his forces were, he seemed disposed to resist his father's commands, and maintain himself in Poitou independent of that monarch, who thereupon had recourse to an extraordinary method of reducing him to obedience. He sent him a mandate, which ordered him to give up the dutchy of Aquitaine to his mother, Queen Eleanor, who then was in Normandy; and it was notified to him, that, if this was not done without delay, a great army should march to put her in possession of her inheritance, and chastise his rebellion against her and his father with a rod of iron. On receiving this order, Richard, by the advice of all his friends, submitted quietly to it, and returned to his father's court in Normandy.

From this proceeding it seems, that although Henry, by virtue of his marriage with Eleanor, was earl of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, yet her right in that earldom and the other parts of the dutchy remained entire; and he himself judged that Richard would not dispute her claim; as in fact he did not. But how Eleanor could find means to prevail on her husband

husband to let her make that claim, or what induced him to it, if it was his own desire, one cannot easily see. For, after what she had done, it was not prudent or safe to let her be free from all controul, and entrusted with the exercise of sovereign power over her natural subjects. Perhaps he took this method of separating from her as the gentlest he could find, permitting her to live upon her own domains, rather than where he resided, and where her eyes, which he knew to be exceedingly piercing, might too narrowly inspect every part of his conduct.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1185.

A conference was soon afterwards held on the borders of France and Normandy, between Henry and Philip, concerning the aid to be given to the Holy Land, on the pressing instances of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who attended them at this meeting. They both promised large supplies of money and men; but the patriarch, who desired that one of Henry's sons (if the king himself could not go) should be instantly sent on this service, being disappointed in this, the principal object of his negotiations, departed much discontented, and about the end of June, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-five, returned to Jerusalem, which he filled with great dismay, by putting an end to the hopes, conceived before in that city, and entertained by himself, of his bringing thither a prince of the Angevin family, to take the command over all the nobility there, whose competitions with each other, from near-

Hoveden.
Hibern. Ex.
puga. l. ii.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1185.

Benedict.

Abbas.

Hoveden.

ly equal pretensions, now weakened the whole state. Soon after his arrival, a knight templar, born in England, and named Robert de St. Alban, being afraid that the Holy Land, in its present bad condition, could not long be defended against Saladin, who was then at Damascus preparing to invade it, deserted to that prince, and having gained credit with him by openly embracing the Mahometan faith, proposed to him a project, which seemed so well contrived, and so likely to do him a most important service, that he married this apostate to a daughter of his sister, and put under his command a powerful army, two parts of which were detached, in separate bodies, to ravage several districts of the realm of Jerusalem, on each side of that city, but at some distance from it. The alarm of these attacks drawing thither the chief strength of all the Christian troops, and the capital being left insufficiently guarded, as Robert had foreseen, he led his third division, unopposed by any enemy, directly to the gates. But, while he was there expecting an answer to his summons, with much confidence that the place would be instantly yielded to him, the small garrison which was in it, and some of the bravest of the citizens, taking with them a cross, believed to be that on which our Saviour had suffered, sallied forth on a sudden, and, by a bold, unlooked for charge so daunted the Saracens, that they fled in great confusion. Many of them were slain in their flight by the Christians,

who

who ascribed to the cross, which they had used as their standard, the victory they had gained. And, undoubtedly, it was helped by the enthusiastic courage, which the sight of that object and the power they imagined it would have to assist them infused into their minds. Thus Jerusalem was delivered from the danger of this treason: but the two detachments which Robert had ordered to invade other regions of Palestine, destroyed many places, particularly the towns of Jericho and Sebasté, with all the open country adjacent thereunto, and the government was informed that Saladin himself now intended to lead another army into the Holy Land. With a view to gain time for the arrival of succours from England, France, and other countries, where many barons and knights, by the exhortation of the pope and the patriarch Heraclius, had been induced to take the cross, the knights templars and hospitallers negotiated with the sultan, and purchased of him a truce till the end of Easter next ensuing, for sixty thousand besants. Soon after this convention the king of Jerusalem died, and left his crown to his nephew, the son of Sibylla, who being a child of no more than nine years old, his mother and father-in-law, Guy de Lusignan, really governed the kingdom.

On the twenty-fourth of November, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-five, died Pope Lucius the Third. His pontificate had been short, yet long enough to decree (for the better preventing the growth of heresies, which
alarmed

A. D. 1705.

V. Concil.

Gen. x. p.

1737.

alarmed the see of Rome) that ecclesiastics convicted of holding any opinions against the faith should be deprived of their orders, and of any benefices they possessed, and be then delivered over to the secular power for condign punishment, if they did not make a public abjuration of their errors, without delay, before the bishop of the diocese to which they belonged. Laymen convicted, and not abjuring their errors, were likewise to be brought before the secular judge, and punished by him. Persons only suspected, if they did not prove their innocence by a proper justification, were to undergo the same pains: but those who after abjuration, or justifying themselves, had relapsed, were to be given up, without hope of any further hearing, to the secular judge, for punishment. It appears that the punishment of hereticks at this time was burning alive: For I find in a French contemporary writer, that in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three many suffered the torment of that most dreadful death in Flanders; the archbishop of Rheims, as legate from the pope, and the earl of Flanders himself, assisting in the judgement.

Rigordus de
Gestis Phil.
August. Franc.
Regis.
Duchefne, t.v.

Concil. Gen.
x. ut supra.

That none might escape from the flames, the council of Verona established a general inquisition, directing every bishop, by himself, his archdeacon, or other capable persons, to visit twice in a year those places in his diocese which were suspected to have any hereticks in them, and oblige two or three of the reputable

putable inhabitants, or even the whole vicinage (if it should be thought proper) to certify upon oath, whether they knew of any such, or of any who held secret meetings, or led a different life from the generality of the catholics. If they did, they were ordered to denounce them to the bishop, or the archdeacon; one or other of whom was required to call before him the parties so accused. An oath was likewise to be taken, by earls, barons, governors, and magistrates of all kinds, that they would assist the church in the execution of this decree, on pain, (if they failed to do it) of losing their offices and being incapacitated ever to hold any other. Any city, which should oppose or neglect to obey the said decree on the bishop's requisition, was to be deprived of all commerce with other towns and of the episcopal see. All favourers of heresy were to be noted with perpetual infamy, and deemed incapable of being advocates or witnesses in a cause, or of exercising any public function whatsoever. To this iniquitous, cruel, and most unchristian system of persecution, the emperor was consenting; and these were the first fruits of the union lately restored, by his reconciliation with ^{the} see of Rome, between the imperial and pontifical powers!

On the tenth of March, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, the kings of England and France had an interview at Gisors, in which the affair of Richard's proposed marriage with

Benedict.
Abbas. fove-
den, ad ann.
1186. Duceio,
col. 630.

with the princess Adelais was resumed by her brother, who pressed the conclusion of it, and extorted from Henry, who had no excuse to make, a promise upon oath, that it should be accomplished without any further unnecessary delay. But some time was gained by the breaking out of a war, in which Richard was employed. Henry altered the whole system upon which he had proceeded the year before. Instead of keeping Richard out of Aquitaine, and leaving Eleanor there, he now sent that prince thither, with a great sum of money, and with orders to raise an army there, which he was to lead against the earl of Toulouse.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 547.
Gervase,
col. 1547.

While these preparations were making, at the end of the month of April, the king went into England, and took with him his queen, whom soon afterwards he again confined in a prison, from which she was not delivered till after his death, when Richard, her son, set her free. What occasioned this change in her husband's treatment of her, the very imperfect accounts of this part of his life have given us no intimation. Probably, therefore, her offence was not of a political but a private nature; some secret which the writers of those times could not penetrate, or were afraid to report. Our chronicles, which have left this matter so dark, afford us no better lights concerning the nature and origin of the quarrel with the earl of Toulouse. Henry's claim to that earldom, which had caused the former war between him and the earl, had been given

up,

Robert de
MonteChron.
Norm. Pere
Daniel, ad
ann. 1172.

up, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, by an amicable agreement; the earl binding himself to hold it as a fief of the dutchy of Aquitaine, under homage and fealty, by the service of a hundred knights, and a yearly present of forty of the finest horses in the country. Perhaps he had failed to send the stipulated force, at Henry's requisition, on occasion of some late disturbances in Poitou, or other parts of the dutchy: but, whatever he had done to draw on himself this attack, Richard made it with such a superiority of valour and conduct, that, within a very short time, the greater part of the earldom was conquered by that prince. The earl, flying before him from one post to another, sent message after message to implore the king of France, as his sovereign and near kinsman, to give him some assistance in this extremity: but he could obtain none: from whence it may be inferred, either that Philip disapproved the grounds of the war on his side, or that powerful reasons inclined that king, at this time, to avoid any quarrel with Henry and Richard. Indeed his interfering in favour of the earl might have given Henry a pretence to break off or delay Richard's marriage with his sister, which neither her honour, nor his, could longer endure to have postponed.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

While the glory of Henry's arms was sustained and encreased in Aquitaine by his son, that king was in England, attending, with his usual, unwearied application, to the various affairs of that realm. His first care was

to

BOOK V. to fill the extraordinary number of episcopal
 A. D. 1186. sees vacant there; namely, Lincoln, Chester, Hereford, Salisbury, Exeter, Winchester, Carlisle, and York. It has been mentioned before, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, Geoffrey, Henry's natural son by Rosamond Clifford, had been chosen bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards taking arms, for the defence of his father, did him eminent service against the rebel lords in the northern parts of England. But though, as a soldier, he gained a great reputation, he was very deficient in his duty as a churchman, neglecting to be consecrated, or even to take priest's orders, and yet enjoying the profits of his bishoprick, till the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, when Pope Alexander the Third sent a mandate to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, which required that prelate to compel him, by ecclesiastical censures, no longer to defer what could not without scandal be any longer dispensed with; or to renounce his election. He chose the latter, from a sense of his incapacity to sustain the episcopal charge, or from a greater inclination to the pleasures and liberty of a secular life. On his resigning his see, the office of chancellor was given to him by his father, with other revenues to the value of a thousand marks a year in Normandy and in England, equivalent to an income of ten thousand pounds sterling in this country at this time. But the vacancy was not filled till the year eleven hundred and eighty-

Benedict.
 Abbas, t. ii.
 f. 354, 355,
 356.

Ibidem,
 f. 400.
 Dicto.

eighty-three ; and in the following year the new BOOK V.
 bishop was translated to the archbishoprick of A. D. 1186.
 Rouen ; so this see was again in the custody
 of the king, who enjoyed the profits of it
 till his return into England in this year eleven
 hundred and eighty-six. He now recommen- Benedict
Abbas, t. iii.
f. 446.
 ded Hugh, a Burgundian by birth, who was Dugdale's
Monasticum
Carthusiensis
Witham.
 prior of a Carthusian convent at Witham
 in the county of Somerset, to the choice of
 the chapter. No monks of this order had
 been settled in England till the year eleven
 hundred and eighty-one, when the king
 brought them over, admiring the austerity
 and total abstraction from the world, which
 distinguished theirs from all other monastical
 institutions, then known in the Western church.
 But the chapter of Lincoln, not pleased to
 have for their bishop a foreigner and a monk,
 who was likely to carry the severity of his
 convent into his diocese, proposed to the king
 his own treasurer Richard, who was also dean
 of Lincoln, or Godfrey de Lucy, a canon
 of that church, and one of Henry's chaplains,
 or another chaplain, named Herbert, who was
 a canon of Lincoln and archdeacon of Can-
 terbury. But Henry told them, " all these
 were already rich enough ; and, for the future,
 he would never bestow any bishoprick from
 favour, or intercession, or any other motive
 than sincere belief that his choice would be
 pleasing to God." Hereupon they consented
 to his recommendation, and Hugh was elec-
 ted. In supplying some of the other sees he
met

BOOK V. met with some difficulties not worth mentioning here. I will only take notice, that, for the archbishoprick of York, five persons who were offered to his option by the chapter, were all refused by him; and the see continued vacant till after his death. The small bishoprick of Carlisle had been without a bishop almost twenty-nine years; and he who now was elected refused to accept it without an augmentation of it's revenues, which Henry made, to the value of three hundred marks a year, by the gift of two royal manors, and some defalcations from neighbouring benefices, which had wealth to spare. William of Neubrigenfis, A.D. 1186. Hoveden. l. iii. c. 25. bury says, that, when this prince was blamed for keeping prelacies too long vacant, and applying the revenues to secular uses, he asked, "Whether it was not better that they should be employed to answer the necessary services of the realm, than to maintain the luxury of the prelates, who differed very much from the primitive bishops, being languid in all their spiritual duties, but ardent lovers of this world?" The same historian observes, that this plea rather served to condemn and dishonour them, than to justify Henry. A better excuse would have been the great unwillingness of the people to be burthened with new taxes in any exigence of the state, which in those times was the cause of many irregular and blameable methods to supply the publick wants.

Before I end the account of ecclesiastical matters in the course of this year, it may be

A. D. 1186.

Benedict.
 Abbas, t. ii.
 f. 414. Hoveden,
 pars ii.
 f. 356.

Gervase, col;
 1479.

Hoveden;
 ut supra.

worth observation, that some Spanish astrologers (instructed by the Moors in that pretended science, as well as in most of their other real knowledge) having foretold that in the month of September of the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, from the conjunction of planets in Libra, which they called *a stormy sign*, great tempests would arise in the western parts of the world, and be followed by a pestilence, with many other evils; such credit was given to this prediction in England, and such a terror caused by it, that, to avert the impending calamities, the archbishop of Canterbury ordered a general fast of three days to be observed in his province. It appears, that not only the Mahometan and the Christian princes of Spain, and the king of Sicily, Henry's son-in-law, had astrologers in their service, but the constable of Chester had one belonging to him: yet Henry himself had none; which shews that his mind resisted the contagion of this delusive folly, from which, even in times of much less ignorance and credulity, many persons of high rank, and of no mean understandings, have not been free. The Cheshire astrologer ventured to publish a prediction, very different from the former, though founded on the same conjunction of planets, in which he said, that *our climate would mitigate their malignity*, and interpreted some of the signs more favourably; while from others he foretold, not tempests or plagues, but other mischiefs which threatened the *nobles* of this land, yet which

BOOK V. they might avert by penitence, prayers, and
 A. D. 1186. amendment of their lives. This partly saved
 his credit; but the Spanish astrologers lost
 theirs; the season proving, in a more than
 usual degree, serene and benignant.

Benedict.
 Abbas, t. ii.
 f. 438.

The decease of Gilbert, prince, or chief-
 tain, of Galloway, in the year eleven hun-
 dred and eighty-five, had occasioned a bloody
 civil war in that country. For Duncan, Gil-
 bert's son, being detained as a hostage to King
 Henry in England, pursuant to the agreement
 of the year eleven hundred and seventy-six,
 Roland nephew to Gilbert, whose father, in
 the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, had
 been murdered by Duncan, seeing now a fair
 occasion, not only to recover his patrimonial
 lands, which his uncle had seized, but to gain
 the whole province, got together some auxiliary
 or mercenary forces, and being joined by the
 people, from their hatred to the nobles, who
 had favoured his uncle, quickly subdued all
 that party, put to death the most powerful and
 wealthy among them, confiscated their estates,
 and built thereon many castles, to secure the
 dominions, his prosperous arms had acquired.
 This revolution layed Henry under very great
 difficulties, as to the part he ought to take.
 Roland's father, whose blood had been thus
 avenged by his son, was, on the side of his
 mother, related to that monarch; and Roland
 himself had undoubtedly suffered great injustice
 from Gilbert. Yet, Duncan having been
 made

made the hostage of a treaty between Henry and Gilbert, which the latter had not broken, it concerned Henry's honour, that, while he remained in that state, his absence from Galloway should not prejudice any claim he could lawfully make. And Roland, by the violent methods he had taken to possess himself of that country, had acted in contempt of an absolute prohibition signified to him, when first he took up arms, by the justiciaries of that king. These considerations having been duly weighed, he was summoned to appear, and answer to Henry in his supreme court of justice, for what he had done: but, if he would not obey, the king of Scotland was ordered, as his lord and Henry's vassal, to subdue and chastize him. Hereupon Roland levied a numerous army, and barricading all the passes that led into his country with ~~the~~ trunks and branches of trees cut down for that purpose, resolved to stand on his defence. Henry, informed of these proceedings, did not think it expedient, that the Scots, now his subjects, should bear alone the whole burthen and danger of this war, but called forth all his tenants by military service in the several counties of England, and marched with them to Carlisle; at which place the king of Scotland and his brother came to him, with propositions from Roland, who desired to obtain the benefit of a peace through their intercessions. Henry sent them to bring the Gallowegian chief to him: but, he refusing to come

without a safe conduct, they, with Ranulph de Glanville, and Hugh bishop of Durham, were impowered to give him the securities he desired, and brought him to Carlisle. There a peace was concluded on the following conditions, that he should keep possession of that part of Galloway which his father Uchtred had held, but should stand to the judgement of the King of England's court, concerning the land which his uncle had possessed before Uchtred's death, and Duncan claimed to inherit. For the performance of this, he delivered up his three sons as hostages to Henry, and swore fealty to him and to the heirs of his crown, as his supreme lords, by the king of Scotland's command. That prince and his brother David took likewise an oath, that, if Roland should depart from the terms of this convention, and from his allegiance to the king of England, they would faithfully assist that monarch against him, till due satisfaction was given.

One should have thought this a sufficient guarantee; but so great was the terror of excommunication in that age, even among the most lawless and barbarous people, that the bishop of Glasgow's swearing, on the relics of saints, to excommunicate Roland, and put his territory under an interdict, if he did not keep this agreement, was judged necessary to be added to the other securities, as the strongest curb on that prince.

Thus

Thus did Henry get rid of a very troublesome war, which might have cost him the blood of many of his subjects, and from which he could not hope to draw any benefit, by a fair accommodation of the claims of those princes whose quarrels had disturbed the peace of their country; at the same time confirming to himself and his successors the sovereignty over Galloway, with the acknowledgement and concurrence of the Scottish king and nation.

About this time news was brought of an important event which had happened in Ireland. After the recall of Prince John, the active valour of Curcy, to whom Henry had given the government of that isle in the absence of his son, and who was fit for the office, had repelled and restrained the incursions of the Irish; but could not prevent Hugh de Lacy, whose abilities were still greater, from exercising a power independent on him, and dangerous to the crown, in many parts of the country. The Irish annals affirm, that this lord, having settled his vassals and partizans through all the province of Meath in its utmost extent, took the title of King of Meath and of the neighbouring territories; Breffny and Orgial, received tribute from Conaught, and extended his authority over all Ireland. William of Newbury tells us, that he seemed to aspire to make himself (not his sovereign) master of that realm; and it was reported, he had even proceeded so far, as to order a

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ad ann. 1185.
Diceto, col.
626.
Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 35.
Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 9.

regal diadem to be prepared for his own head. Henry, alarmed at this conduct, sent him positive orders to return into England. But he still disobeyed; which verified the suspicions before conceived of him, and greatly embarrassed the king. A war which would divide the English forces in Ireland, and turn the arms of one part of them against the breasts of the other, was such an encouragement to the whole Irish nation, already ill disposed, to unite for the purpose of destroying them all, as could not with prudence be given. On the other hand, to connive at Lacy's obstinate disobedience, and let him go on to confirm and strengthen his power, in defiance of his sovereign, was what neither the policy nor the spirit of Henry could any longer endure. But from this dilemma he now was unexpectedly freed. On the twenty-fifth of July; Lacy, who, for some time, had been superintending the building of a castle on the border of Meath, went forth to take a view of some of the outworks, with only three English soldiers and an Irishman named O'Meey, whom the chieftain of Tessa, a small district in Meath, had bred up in his family, and Lacy had lately entertained in his. Conversing with this man, of whom he had no suspicion, that baron advanced about a stone's throw before his other attendants; and, as he stooped to mark the line of a fortification designed by him in that place, his companion seized the moment, and with an

ax, which he drew from under his mantle, cut off his head at one stroke. The guards, seeing him fall, ran instantly to avenge him on the murderer; but the distance they were at, and O'Meey's natural swiftness, which much exceeded their's, enabled him to escape into a neighbouring wood, where he easily eluded their pursuit. What provoked him to this deed we are not told: but it might be some offence which Lacy had given to the person or family of the chieftain of Teffa, from whom this assassin had received his first nurture.

Thus, fortunately for Henry, the ambitious designs of this great lord, whom the regal power in Ireland could hardly subdue, were defeated by an act of private revenge! When the account of it was received by that king, he presently ordered John to return into Ireland, and take into his custody Lacy's castles and lands, during the nonage of Walter, the eldest son of that baron. But, before this command could be put in execution, Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, had died of a fever, on the nineteenth of August, at Paris.

Benedict.
Abbas.
See Dugdale's
Baronage,
LACI.

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 7.

This prince, full of spirit, and endowed with great talents, had been, for some time past, caballing with Philip, to obtain from his father, by that king's intercession, the earldom of Anjou. It was for the interest of the French monarchy, that the heir to the realm of England and all its dependencies should not inherit this country, together

with the two very powerful dutchies of Aquitaine and Normandy ; and that it should, in Henry's life-time, be given to a much less formidable potentate, the duke of Bretagne ; especially, as the hatred between him and his elder brother, which the interposition and authority of their father with difficulty restrained, would, after his decease, be likely to keep them in continual discord, and force the younger to lean on the French king for support. Philip therefore employed his most sollicitous endeavours to serve Geoffry in this point. But Henry would not agree to such a proposition without the free consent of Richard, to whom the inheritance of the earldom of Anjou belonged, and who vehemently opposed the alienation of it, as dividing a succession which unquestionably the greatness of the house of Plantagenet required to be preserved entire. Geoffry, thus disappointed of what he ardently coveted, and almost equally angry with his father and brother, resolved to throw himself into the arms of Philip ; and, using the pretence of a tournament held at Paris, concerted with that king the measures to be taken for extorting by force the boon he could not gain. It is said, he proposed the invading of Normandy : but, whatever were his designs, (which the history of those times has not well explained) the hand of Providence crushed them in the bud. Some contemporary authors only mention a fever as the cause of his death : but others tell us, that

that he and his horse were thrown down in the tournament above-mentioned, by the shock of the lances of the opposite body of knights, and trampled upon by their horses; after which, through the care that was employed to heal him, he seemed well recovered; but, while he was plotting with Philip, he was seized with a violent pain in his bowels, supposed to be the effect of some internal bruises; and a fever came on, which put an end to his life.

The character of this prince, in other respects much the same, was distinguished from that of his two elder brothers by a greater degree of cunning. In the warmth of youth he dissimulated; he plotted; he deceived, like a veteran politician. He had an eloquent tongue, but it hardly ever spoke the real sense of his heart. No fits of remorse, no return to any sentiments of filial duty or love, ever checked his ambition in the pursuit of its objects. His father's goodness in pardoning his former rebellions raised no gratitude in him. Not even on his death-bed did he express any sorrow for his last intended treason. His father, therefore, who was not uninformed of his guilt, shewed little concern for the loss of him. But Philip, whose affections he had artfully won, and whose policy would have found its account in his crimes, greatly lamented his death; and not only took care that his body should be buried, with extraordinary honours and pomp, in St. Mary's church at Paris, but

Gul. Armor-
cus de Gest.
Phil. August.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 447, 448.
452.

founded, at his own cost, a perpetual provision for the maintenance of four priests, to put up prayers for his soul. It was the custom of this monarch to unite acts of piety and superstitious devotion with political measures, which were far more agreeable to reasons of state than to the moral laws of God!

Soon after this event, Henry gave to the king of Scotland his kinswoman Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, viscount of Beaumont, whose mother Constantia was an illegitimate child of King Henry the First. This match, though less honourable than that before proposed with the duke of Saxony's daughter, was made with the approbation of the barons of Scotland, for the sake of the alliance with the English royal family, desired by both nations. The ceremony was performed on the fifth of September, in Henry's palace at Woodstock, by the ministry of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the father and mother of Ermengarde, of the King of England, of David, the King of Scotland's brother, and of many other nobles belonging to both realms, before whom the royal bridegroom gave the castle of Edinburgh, which Henry had restored to him for that purpose, in dower to his bride, besides forty knights fees, and a revenue of one hundred marks a year. The dower was small for a queen; but the king of Scots was not rich, and probably her portion was not great. Henry, having joined their hands, left his

palace to them, and went to another house; but entertained them four days, and together with them all the nobles attending on the nuptials, in a magnificent manner, at his own expence.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1186.

The princess of Saxony, whom the king of Scotland would have married, if he could have obtained the pope's leave, lost this year another crown, offered to her by Bela, king of Hungary. While the embassadors of that prince were waiting for an answer in the court of her grandfather, who delayed it some time, he, thinking himself slighted, sent others into France, to ask in marriage Philip's sister, the widow of young Henry; which proposal being instantly accepted by Philip, an end was put to the treaty commenced with the English monarch for his grand-daughter Matilda. Perhaps the delay on his part, which deprived her of a match so desirable for her, may have been caused by his staying, and not without her consent, till the king of Scotland, by agreeing to marry another, should have freed her and him from any possible imputation of violating the engagements they had taken with him; a very proper and commendable delicacy of honour! The princess remained single till after Henry's death, and then married a husband of much inferior rank, the count of Perche.

Benedict.
Abbas,

In the conference held at Gisors, on the tenth of March this year, some discontent which had festered in the mind of the king of France concerning his sister Margaret's dowry, which

BOOK V.

A. D. 1186.

Diceto, col.

630.

which the king of England was to pay, had been removed. That queen had complained, (as it seems not unjustly) of its being too small; and we find by a letter from Pope Lucius the Third, written in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, that he was of her opinion: for he there exhorts Henry, and even enjoins him, *for the remission of his sins*, to make some addition to it; which was probably done in this meeting; as we are told the dispute was amicably concluded: but what Henry gave is not mentioned. He would hardly have delayed so long to comply with such an admonition; or have ever put that princess under the necessity of having recourse to it, if he had not been greatly dissatisfied with her conduct while she lived with his son. Perhaps he knew, she had done him ill offices with her brother, or suspected that her influence over her husband had been used to seduce him from his filial duty, in the latter part of his life.

Prince John is not mentioned among those who were present at the king of Scotland's marriage; but probably he was there; for his father, on the news of his brother Geoffry's decease, had stopt him from going, as he was ready then to do, with the first fair wind, into Ireland. Why that event made a change in Henry's intentions with relation to that kingdom, no reason is given. It has been said before, that, when he first conceived the idea of granting it to that prince, he obtained the

See p. 67, of this volume, and Benedict. Abbas, t. i. f. 204.

the consent of Pope Alexander the Third to **BOOK V.**
 infeoff him in it, or any other of his sons, A. D. 1186.
 at his own choice. Hoveden says, that, in the Hoveden,
 year eleven hundred seventy-seven, by the f. 323. Dist.
concession and *confirmation* of that Pontiff, he 20, 30. ad
 (Henry) constituted John *king of Ireland*, in ann. 1177.
 the general council at Oxford. But it appears
 from records, that John only took the title
 of *Lord* of that island (*dominus Hibernie*).
 Nor did his father himself, though he exercised
 all the plenitude of royal power there, assume
 any other; because he had not been crowned.
 Yet it appears, that, before John went into
 Ireland, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-
 five, Henry had asked the agreement of Pope
 Lucius the Third to John's being crowned;
 which that Pontiff refused. We are not told
 on what reason this refusal was grounded; but,
 Urban the Third, soon after his election, Benedict.
 granted to Henry a bull, which impowered Abbas, t. ii.
 him to cause any one of his sons, whom he f. 433.
 should chuse, to be crowned king of Ireland; Hoveden.
 and sent him, as a mark of his (the pope's) f. 359. Dist.
 consent and confirmation, a crown of pea-
 cocks feathers interwoven with gold. 40, 50.

It is worthy of notice, that, although there
 appears to have been no variation in Henry's
 desire of conferring on John the government
 of that kingdom, preferably to either of his two
 other sons, yet he was solicitous that the choice
 should be left entirely free to him; in order,
 I presume, to make it more apparent that the
 gift was from him, not a favour conferred on
 any

A. D. 1186.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

any one of the three by the special grace of the court of Rome: but this option being gained, he named John to the pope, and applied for a legate, to assist at the ceremony of that prince's coronation. On the twenty-sixth of December in this year eleven hundred and eighty-six, Cardinal Octavian, deputed from Urban the Third for this purpose, arrived in England, and with him one of Henry's own chaplains, who having gone to negotiate this affair with that pontiff, was joined in commission as legate *a latere*, with the Roman prelate; a compliment paid to his master, which shewed a very favourable disposition in Urban. But Henry's mind was now changed. Probably it occurred to him, that, as he himself had not been crowned in Ireland; the giving his son that mark of sovereign power, and the title of king, might prejudice his own right to supreme dominion there, in the thoughts of the Irish. This objection was indeed so obvious and so great, that one can hardly conceive how it ever should have been overlooked by his prudence! But he also laid aside, for other reasons unknown, his intention to send John, at this time, into Ireland; nor did he resume it while he lived, though this prince still retained the feudal grant of the kingdom, made to him, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, with the advice and consent of parliament, according to the terms on which it then was given. William of Newbury says, that, after Lacy's death, Henry

Neubrigensis,
L. iii. c. 9.

Henry managed more cautiously his affairs in Ireland; but under what order and regulations he put them we are not well informed. We only know, that the chief administration of government was entrusted to Curcy. If the king's affairs would have suffered him to go over to Ireland and be crowned there himself, that country would undoubtedly have been brought into a better political state, than under any viceroy; but, though the late machinations between Geoffry and Philip had produced no effects, yet the death of the former gave the latter a pretence to quarrel with Henry, by demanding the custody of the heiress of Bretagne, Geoffry's daughter, whom her father had left an infant, and of the dutchy itself till the princess should be of a proper age to marry. These claims, if Bretagne had been held of the crown of France without any middle tenure, would have certainly been well founded: but, as it was a fief of Normandy, the right of Henry, as duke of Normandy, to the custody of it, and of the person of the heiress before she was marriageable, could hardly be disputed. It is true indeed that the Bretons had been always desirous to have their duke not acknowledge any other feudal lord in the kingdom of France than the king; and it may be suspected (though I do not find it said by the writers of those times) that Geoffry had agreed, in his late cabals with Philip, to hold his dutchy immediately of him and his successors: but such a convention could give

Benedict.
Abbas.

give no right to that king, being contrary to the known and established superiority of the dukes of Normandy in Bretagne. Henry therefore sent to Philip his grand justiciary, Glanville, the archbishop of Rouen, and William de Mandeville earl of Albemarle, who obtained from him a truce till the feast of St. Hilary next ensuing. A private broil which happened between the governors of Gisors and of a neighbouring fort on the territory of Philip, disturbed the negotiations which Henry was carrying on for a more settled peace, but did not produce an actual war. Nevertheless all the symptoms of Philip's dispositions appeared so unfavourable, that Henry, expecting an attack from that monarch on his territories in France, as soon as the winter should be past, was very anxious to establish tranquillity in South-Wales, the disorders of which still continued.

Ann. de Mor-
gan. ad ann.
1185.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, the Welsh, after Henry's departure out of England, had made great ravages in Glamorganshire, and fired the town of Cardiff; but, attempting to besiege the castle of Neth, had been beaten by an army which came from England against them, to the relief of the fortrefs. They had moreover received another defeat, the next year, from the English of the counties of Chester and Hereford; which having humbled their pride, Henry thought it a good time to offer them peace, and sent his grand justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, who

Benedict.
Abbas.

who had lately returned from France, to treat with Rees ap Gryffyth and the other chiefs of South-Wales, not only for the purpose of finishing the war, and bringing back the rebels to their fealty, but likewise for that of procuring immediately a body of their foot, to serve him against Philip. This Glanville obtained, to the great satisfaction of Henry, who remembred how useful his Welsh soldiers had been in constraining the French and Flemish armies to raise the siege of Rouen. Indeed better light infantry was not then in all Europe. And the nation was so inclined to war, that the best way of preventing them from annoying the English, was to employ them in their service against foreigners. It was, in truth, the only security for their allegiance. They were faithful in proportion as they saw themselves trusted; and this compliment paid by their sovereign to their valour pleased them more than any favours he could otherwise grant.

At the Christmas festival of this year eleven hundred and eighty-six, which was solemnized at Bedford, the earl of Leicester is mentioned as one of the nobles who served at the king's table. He was therefore now freed from that imprisonment, which had been brought upon him and several other great lords by the jealousy of the government in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three. They were, probably, all discharged soon after the death of the young king, with whom, just before, they

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 454.

BOOK V.
A.D. 1186.

had been suspected of plotting some new treasons, perhaps on no other grounds than their having been the advisers of his former rebellion; for it does not appear that any of them were punished, or even brought to a trial.

Benedict.
Abbas. Hoveden. Diceto.
Neubrigenfis.

During the course of the above-related events in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, the infant king of Jerusalem, who had succeeded to Baldwin surnamed the Leper, and was the Fifth of that name, died after a reign of no more than seven months. The arts of his mother Sibylla, who gained to her party the patriarch Heraclius and the knights of the temple and the hospital, prevailed to place in the vacant throne Guy de Lusignan, her husband, against the minds of the people, of most of the soldiery, and of many of the nobles, who thought the earl of Tripoly abler to defend, and therefore fitter to govern the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was likely to suffer, not only from the loss of his superior talents in the cabinet and the field, but also from his resentment at being thus deprived, by a crafty woman's intrigues, of all power in the state. Soon after this election, the truce made with Saladin in the preceding year to the end of Easter in this, was renewed for three years more; that sultan, who wanted time to settle some matters in the administration of Egypt, desiring this prolongation; and Guy, to whom the delay was very advantageous for the establishment of his power, gladly

gladly embracing the offer. It was but new-BOOK V.
ly concluded, when a multitude of crusaders A. D. 1186.
from England and France arrived at Jerusalem; many of whom, when they heard that there would be no opportunity of employing their valour in the defence of the Holy Land for so long a term, returned home: yet some stayed, in which number two of the greatest English lords, Roger de Mowbray and Hugh de Beauchamp, are particularly mentioned.

Cardinal Octavian and Hugh de Nonant, ^{Benedict. Abbas,}
whom the pope had commissioned, as his le-^{ad ann. 1187.}
gates *à latere*, to crown Prince John king of Ireland, had also a power to hear and determine all appeals made to Rome by the English or Irish, in ecclesiastical causes: for which purpose, tho' Henry had laid aside the design of giving his son the regal dignity, or sending him now into Ireland, they stayed in England, and performed with great pomp and ostentation that part of their office. This was very disagreeable to the archbishop of Canterbury, who, as ordinary legate from the see of Rome in this kingdom, saw his authority superseded by theirs, and his lustre, as primate, much impaired by their presence. He therefore, and with him all his suffragan bishops, remonstrated to the king, that their longer stay in the realm would only turn to the dishonour and damage thereof; and advised him to carry them into Normandy, where they might be employed more usefully for his service, in mediating a peace between him and Philip. To this counsel he

agreed, and accordingly took them with him, at the same time transporting a considerable army of English and Welsh soldiers, to add force to persuasion. On the twentieth of February, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, he landed at Witsand, where the earls of Flanders and Blois, with many other French nobles, received him on the shore with great honours, and conducted him to the borders of the dutchy of Normandy: but, whilst he was on his journey, no small number of his household, attempting to pass the sea between Shoreham and Dieppe, were caught in a tempest and drowned; with whom perished also a large part of the wealth of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, one of the richest in England, which, on his death, the king inherited, by the iniquitous law or custom of those times.

When that Prince arrived at Albemarle, his son Richard duke of Aquitaine, and John, whom he had sent over a little before him, came, with the principal Norman lords, to wait on him there, and to consult on the measures it would be proper to take, if a war with France should break out. In the months of March and of April he and Philip had two conferences, for the settling of the points contested between them.

The abbot of Peterborough and Roger de Hoveden say, that they parted without a hope of peace, *by reason of the intolerable demands of Philip*. What these were they do not tell us; but from Gervase of Canterbury we learn, that he

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

Gervase,
Chron. col.
1486.

he demanded back his sister, who, having been many years accorded to Richard, was not yet married to him, *but was kept like a captive, under strict custody, by King Henry, in England.* He also required that the portion which his father had given to his other sister, Margaret, at the time of her marriage with the eldest son of that king, namely, Gisors and it's territory, should be restored to him.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

As to the last of these demands, it must be observed, that in the conference at Gisors, on the tenth of March, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, where Henry had taken an oath, that Adelais, the younger sister of Philip, should be married to Richard with all convenient speed, Philip also had covenanted, in consideration of this match, to give up, for himself and heirs, all claim to Gisors, on the restitution of which he had strenuously insisted in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three. But since this agreement more than twelve months had past, and Adelais remained, in Henry's custody, still unmarried. The quarrel and war between Richard and the earl of Toulouse, which had been an excuse for some delay, no longer continued; the latter having (as it seems) submitted to the former, before the end of autumn in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. Certain it is, that, this year, all was quiet in Aquitaine, and Richard at liberty to fulfil the engagement which he and his father had

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 444.
Diceto, col.
630.

taken. Philip therefore had great cause for impatience and resentment at its not being fulfilled.

If Henry (as some modern historians have supposed) was afraid of contracting another alliance with the French royal family, from the experience he had of the bad effects of that which his eldest son had made, he should not have sworn to let this be accomplished, but should have restored the princess to her brother, whether he did, or did not, admit the pretensions of that king to Gisors. For, he could have no right to detain her in his custody one single day, after he had resolved to break the match, on account of which she had been, so many years before, entrusted to his care. The desire he had shewn of marrying her to John, instead of Richard, had been dropt in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, and could not now be resumed consistently with the oath taken by him in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. Nor is it said by any one contemporary writer, that he made mention of it in the conferences now held with the king of France on this subject. It was, therefore, extremely difficult to justify or excuse his not doing one of these two things, either marrying Adelaïs, without delay, to Richard, or sending her back to her brother. When wise men act unwisely, the cause must be usually sought for in their passions. I therefore cannot doubt, that the real motive of his otherwise

unaccountable conduct was a passionate love for this princess. It has been mentioned before what reason there is to believe, that he had sought a divorce from Eleanor his wife, by the authority of Pope Alexander the Third, which would, if obtained, have enabled him to wed Adelaïs himself: but, even when this had been refused, he might flatter himself, that some of Alexander's successors would be more complaisant; or that Eleanor, who was old, might die before him, and leave him free to make this lady his queen. Love too easily hopes what it ardently wishes; and the supposing him under the tyranny of that passion, which is commonly attended with a greater degree of dotage in elderly men than in young, unravels the whole mystery of his present and subsequent proceedings. For it was natural, if he loved Adelaïs, that he should rather incline to risk a war (however dangerous it might be) than to think of parting with her, and delivering her to her brother, who might presently marry her to another prince. Accordingly he had now recourse to arms, colouring the quarrel with anger at the demand of Gisors, which place he maintained to be his, independantly of the match between Richard and this princess, by virtue of former rights; and complaining of Philip for claiming a portion of the dutchy of Bretagne as a domain of his crown; which is mentioned by Gervase as one of the points on which that king had insisted.

Gervase,
Chron. col.
1480, 1486.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

As for Richard, I do not find that he ever had pressed the conclusion of the marriage designed for him with this princess. There is some reason to think, that he now was in love with Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre, whom he afterwards married; but, as it does not appear that he thought of marrying that lady, so long as his father lived, though, probably, the consent of that king to the match would have been willingly granted, I rather ascribe his not hastening the union proposed with the king of France's sister to a habit of indulging himself in loose pleasures, and a disinclination to wedlock. Nor yet did he chuse that Adelais should now be sent back to her brother; as he knew that the investiture of the dutchy of Aquitaine had been given to him by her father on the prospect of his becoming her husband. Nor could he like that Bretagne, or any portion thereof, should be free from it's dependance on the dutchy of Normandy, which he was to inherit; or that Gisors, by which that dutchy was defended on the side of the French Vexin, should be separated from it, and yielded to Philip. The French historians, who wrote in those times, affirm, that Philip required homage for the dutchy of Aquitaine to be done to him by this prince, who, under his father's directions, refused to pay it, and that this was given out as one cause of the quarrel between the two monarchs. It must be observed hereupon, that

Henry

Gulielm.
Armoricus.
Ricordus de
Gestis Phil.
August.

Henry had done homage for these dominions to Philip as his immediate vassal ; and it now began to be thought a principle of the feudal law in France, that sub-vassals were not to do homage for their fiefs to the lord paramount, but only to him of whom they immediately held them. And Henry had special reasons to be jealous of Richard's connecting himself with Philip by an act of this nature, with respect to these dominions, lest he should think that he held them as a tenant in chief of the French crown, independently of his father's superiority in them. But, whether this question was agitated now, or some time afterwards, (as the English historians suppose) I think may be doubted. It is certain that Richard was satisfied at this time with the power given to him in the duchy of Aquitaine from and under his father, and cordially joined to assist that king in the war with which he was threatened.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1187.

V. Duchesne,
Dissert. 13. 14. K
Abregé Chronol. de l'Histoire de France, p. 236.

Great forces were levied on both sides. About Whitsuntide Henry, having assembled his army, divided it into four parts ; one of which he put under the conduct of Geoffry, his and Rosamond's son, who had been formerly bishop elect of Lincoln, and now was his chancellor, but who had shewn by his actions, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, that nature had eminently given him those talents, which best qualify a man for a military command. At the head of another body was William de Mandeville, earl of

Benedict.
Abbas. Hoveden.

BOOK V. Effex and Albemarle, who, since the decease
 A. D. 1187. of the earl of Arundel, had more of the king's

trust in all his arduous affairs, either of peace or of war, than any other baron. The two other divisions were ranged under the banners of Richard, duke of Aquitaine, and his brother, Prince John, who had lately received, from the bounty of his father, the earldom of Mortagne. To these several chiefs Henry assigned the defence of four different quarters of his territories in France, giving them money and all they wanted for that service. But this disposition was soon changed. For, Philip leading all his forces to besiege Chateauroux, the principal fortress in Berry, Richard and John, who commanded in the countries nearest to it, threw themselves into that place, and were besieged there some time: but, Henry advancing with all the rest of his troops to succour these princes, the king of France raised the siege, and, they joining their father, both armies now prepared, with great ardour, for a battle. William of Newbury says, that, each nation being emulous for the glory of its king, they appeared no less animated the one against the other, than if every man amongst them had come to maintain his own interest, his own honour; or to revenge his own wrongs. But, just in the moment when they were eagerly waiting for the signal to fight, the two legates of the pope, advancing between their foremost lines, denounced against the two kings, in the name of his Holiness,

Neubrigenfis,
 l. ii. c. 12.

liness, the terrible sentence of excommunication, if they did not make peace; and extended it to all those, who should, on either side, do any hostile act. This stopped, like a charm, the fury of both armies; their swords were instantly sheathed; and, through the mediation of all the prelates and nobles who were in the two camps, a truce for two years was concluded; the matters in controversy being (as the French historians say) referred to the judgement of the king of France's court; but the English only tell us, that, during the term abovementioned, the baron de Fretteval, whose service in Aquitaine Henry had claimed hitherto, was to pay it to Philip; and the town of Iffodun, which the latter had taken in the war, before he laid siege to Chateauroux, was to remain in his hands. The truth seems to be, that all claims on either side were suspended for two years, with a small advantage to Philip, as Henry's sovereign in France. But the former quickly made a greater acquisition: he gained the heart of Richard! This prince, going to him upon the conclusion of the truce, was so charmed by him, and so won by his kindness, that, without Henry's leave, or even returning to ask it, he attended him from his camp in Berry to Paris. Their intimacy was such, that, while they were on their journey, they constantly eat together at the same table, and slept every night in the same bed.

Gul. Armor.
& Rigord.
ut suprà.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

Henry

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

V. authores
citatos ut
suprà.

Henry heard, with no less anxiety than surprise, of this sudden, excessive friendship: Nor was his jealousy groundless. The artful character of Philip gave that king great advantages over the open sincerity and impetuous temper of Richard. What designs the former put, during this familiarity, into the head of the latter, we are not well informed: but the effect of their conversation was, that Richard, who had received repeated messages from his father, desiring him to return, and assuring him of a ready compliance with all he could reasonably ask, promised indeed to obey, and left the French court, but, going to Chinon in Touraine, seized a treasure which Henry had deposited in that castle, and passing from thence into Poitou, used the money to fortify his castles in that province, and seemed resolved to stay there. A negotiation ensued, of which we know nothing more than that it proved so successful as to bring him back to his father, and that, being at Angers, he took a new oath of allegiance to that king, and likewise swore, in the presence of a great assembly of people, that he would, for the future, be guided by his counsels. After this reconciliation, Henry, freed from the uneasiness which had for some time employed his thoughts, went into Bretagne, and retook a castle there, which; on Geoffry's decease, one of the lords of that country had got possession of, by the treachery of the governor.

On

On the twenty-ninth of March, in this BOOK V.
 year eleven hundred and eighty seven, Con- A. D. 1187.
 stantia, the dowager dutchess of Bretagne, Diceto.
 had been safely delivered of a posthumous Neubrigensis,
 son, heir apparent to the dutchy. King Henry L. iii. c. 7.
 had directed, that his name should be given
 to this infant, his grandson; but the Bretons,
 who were present at the ceremony of the
 baptism, demanded, with a loud and general
 acclamation, that he should be named Arthur:
 so fondly did they believe the fabulous stories
 about the British Arthur; and so agreeably
 did they flatter themselves with the thought,
 that this child, who, by his mother, was the
 last male descendant of the Armoric princes;
 would, together with the name, inherit the
 valour of that supposed hero of their ancient
 country, Cornwall. Their desire was gra-
 tified; and Henry consented that Constantia
 should be made sole guardian to her son, but
 under an obligation of advising with him in
 the affairs of the dutchy. From hence it ap-
 pears, that the Bretons now acknowledged
 his right of dominion over their state, as duke
 of Normandy, although his son, their late
 duke, had been encouraged by them to shake
 it off; and that no regard was paid to the
 king of France's pretensions, of which an
 account has been given. But, before the end Benedict.
 of this year, Henry settled more firmly his Abbas.
 power in that country, by betrothing Con- Hoveden,
 stantia to Ranulph earl of Chester, whose
 father had died in the year eleven hundred
 and

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

Dugdale's

Baronagium,

Earl of

CHESTER.

and eighty-one. This marriage, which was not disagreeable to the Bretons, (who thought the earl their countryman, as both he and his father were born in Wales,) was consummated the next year; and Henry added to Bretagne, of which Ranulph took the government, in right of his wife, the great earldom of Richmond, usually annexed to that dutchy. It was generous in the king to make this match, or give his consent to it, in favour of a man, whose father had so criminally revolted against him: but he had pardoned that guilt, and would not permit any memory of it to hurt the unoffending son. On the contrary, he desired to confirm this young lord and all his great relations in loyal affection to him, by such benefits as the family had never yet received from any of his predecessors.

Rigordus de
Gest. Phil.
Aug.

If the Bretons were rejoiced at the birth of a prince to inherit their dutchy, the people of France were still more so, at their queen's having brought forth, on the fifth of September this year, an heir to that kingdom. The Parisians, in whose city this son of Philip was born, celebrated his birth with such joy, that, for seven successive nights, they sung hymns and danced, by torch-light, in the streets: a remarkable instance of the natural gaiety of their temper and affection for their kings! Indeed they had then a more than ordinary cause for immoderate gladness; since, if Philip had died without a son, disputes might have arisen
about

about the succession, which would have endangered the kingdom. But Henry, who had hoped great benefit from that chance, little thought that this prince would in process of time be invited by the barons of England to take that crown from his son John, who had submitted to hold it in vassalage of the pope!

The rejoicings in France were changed, by news from the Holy Land, into a general mourning, which extended itself all over Christendom. The truce renewed with Saladin by the king of Jerusalem, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, for three years to come, had been infamously broken, before the end of that year, by Arnaud, or (as some call him) Renaud de Chatillon. This lord, who had married Constantia, the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, and had, for some time, administered the government of that principality, during the nonage of her son, was now præfect of the frontiers of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the side of Arabia Petræa, where he held two strong castles, which the steepness of the rocks on which they were built made impregnable by assault, or by any means except famine. A Mahometan caravan from Egypt to Damascus passing near to these places in confidence of the truce, he could not resist the temptation of plundering the merchants, and seizing their persons, in order to put them to ransom. The captives complaining to him of this violation of public faith, and upbraiding him with it, he threw them into close dungeons,

and

Vir. et Res
Gest. Sultani
Alm. Aln.
Saladini,
auctore Bo-
hadino F.
Sjeddadi, c.
viii. p. 27, 70.
Abulfeda i.
25, 26.
Ricardi Regis
Iter Hierosol.
Auctore Gal-
frido de Vini-
laus, c. v.

and insultingly said, that their prophet, if he could, might set them free. Saladin, who was in truth, and affected to appear, a most zealous Mussulman, so resented this usage of his innocent subjects, and the contumely thrown upon his religion, that he solemnly vowed, if ever this offender should be in his power, he would put him to death with his own hand! Nor was his anger confined to him alone: for he considered the truce with the king of Jerusalem as broken by this act of hostile violence, committed openly by a vassal whom his sovereign had not punished, nor delivered up to him; and therefore he resolved to make himself full amends by the conquest of Palestine, which he had wished to attempt for some time past, but had been diverted from it by other occupations, or accidents intervening. The winter, indeed, and the want of some necessary preparations, obliged him to defer it till the following year, eleven hundred and eighty-seven, when his first operation was to guard from all danger the pilgrims returning from Mecca to Damascus, by posting himself between them and Chatillon's two castles, while other bodies of his troops made incursions into Palestine and laid all waste. Against one of these, consisting of no fewer than seven thousand Turks, five hundred knights of the temple and hospital of Jerusalem, with some infantry drawn from the circumjacent districts, ventured to come to an action, on the first day of May, in the forest of Safford, where the grand

Vita Saladin
ut supra p. 66.
67. Galfr. de
Vinisaufr. l. i.
c. 2. Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
p. 471, 487.

grand master of the hospital, with some of his brethren, and sixty templars were slain.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

Saladin having performed his pious intention of securing the pilgrims, and having received large supplies from Ægypt, Mosul, Aleppo, and Mesopotamia, advanced into Galilee, and encamping his army near the lake of Genezareth, at the foot of the hilly country, intended there to give battle to the king of Jerusalem; who he believed would come thither, in order to oppose his further advances towards the capital. But that prince was desirous, and not without reason, to avoid an engagement, and protract the war by defending his fortified places. To force him from this resolution, the sultan left the main body of his army encamped in its former situation, and putting himself at the head of a chosen detachment, stormed and took, sword in hand, the city of Tiberias; after which he laid siege to the castle, or citadel, where the countess of Tripoli, who was by inheritance princess of Galilee, had shut herself up, with a few knights. Her husband, who, enraged at Lusignan's having gained the crown of Jerusalem in preference to him, had, soon after that event, made a treaty with Saladin, by which he agreed to hold his dominions in a kind of vassalage to that prince, had been drawn from this compact by the prayers and reproaches of the patriarch of Jerusalem and others of the clergy, who, when the war first broke out, implored him to sacrifice his private resentment to the common cause of religion,

Abulfeda, c. 26.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

Neubrigensis,

l. iii. c. 16.

Benedict.

Abbas. Hove-

den. Gervase.

Diceto.

Galf. de

Winifaus, l. i.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

p. 504.

Ibidem.

p. 473.

Ibidem,

f. 504.

Salad. vit.

c. 35.

religion, and join his arms to the king's. He did so, and, assisted by the sympathy of Sibylla for the danger and distress of the countess of Tripoli, determined Lusignan, against his own inclinations, to attempt the relief of the castle of Tiberias. For this purpose all his forces, even many that were necessary for the defence of the towns and forts of his kingdom, being ordered to attend him, they were led by the king to a hill, adjacent to Tiberias, on the western side of that city, and posted at the opening of a narrow pass, or defile. In a letter written to King Henry, not long after this time, by the patriarch of Antioch, they are said to have been twelve hundred horse and thirty thousand foot. In another letter from the Genoese in the Holy Land to the pope, Saladin's forces are reckoned to have exceeded fourscore thousand. On the fourth of July, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, a battle was fought, of which the most circumstantial and authentic relation is given us by one of the ministers of the sultan, who attended him in this war, and has written a history of his life and acts. He says, that this prince, being informed of the king of Jerusalem's motions, left only a force sufficient to blockade the castle of Tiberias, and with the rest of his troops hastened back to his camp. That the two armies were ranged in sight of each other near a village called Allubia, a little before night, the approach of which stopped them from coming to action. That, the next morning,

morning, they fought, with great fury on both sides, and the battle lasted all day : but, Saladin's archers continually infesting the Christians with showers of arrows, and selected bands of his troops successively making very sharp attacks upon them, they were slaughtered in their post like flocks of sheep in a fold, and evidently saw they must perish ; their fate being deferred, only till the next morning, by the darkness coming on. That both armies passed the night in arms, though wearied so much with the toils of the preceding day as hardly to be able to raise themselves from the ground on which they reposed. That, when the first dawn of light appeared, Saladin ordered his centre, which extended as far as the whole line of the Christians, to charge them in front, whilst his wings, which were stretched far beyond them on each side, attacked their flanks. That this was executed with a universal shout, which they all set up as one man, according to his command, and struck thereby such a terror into the hearts of the Christians, as deprived them of their last remains of strength. That the earl of Tripoli, who till now had been the most courageous and the fiercest among them, seeing the marks of a beginning rout, and forgetting the fair fame of all his former deeds, took no care to form, or to encourage, the troops, by putting himself at their head ; but, before the defeat became total, accompanied by a few of his own peculiar vassals, fled out of the fight towards Tyre. That,

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

some of Saladin's horsemen being ordered to pursue him, they massacred all his attendants; he alone escaping from them. That the other Christians, inclosed, like beasts in toils, ~~were~~ overwhelmed with the arrows of the Mahometans or cut to pieces by their swords; from which slaughter some flying, they were so closely pursued that not a man was saved: but one part of them retiring to a neighbouring hill, Saladin ordered the woods, which surrounded them, to be fired, and thus forced them, almost dead with extreme heat and thirst, to yield themselves captives. That among these ~~was~~ the king, the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and Arnaud de Chatillon."

were/

This account, on the whole, is of better authority than any other now extant: but the Arabian author appears to have been misinformed where he says, that no Christian, except the earl of Tripoli, escaped with life and liberty out of the battle. For we have a letter from one who styles himself *great præceptor of the Temple at Jerusalem*, to all the knights of his order dispersed over Europe, in which, together with that earl, he mentions *himself*, and the prince of Sidon, and another man of quality, whom he names, as having escaped from this field. Of the action he says only, "that the enemy having driven them into a very bad place, among rocks, assaulted them there with such fury, that, the king and the holy cross being taken, a mul-

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 475, 476.

a multitude of them were slain, and, particularly, a hundred and thirty knights templars." The cross mentioned in this letter was supposed to be that on which our Saviour had suffered. The bishop of Ptolemais had carried it in the battle, as the standard under which the Christians fought, till, having received a mortal wound, he delivered it to the hand of another dignified churchman, who attended him for that purpose, and with whom it was taken at the same time as the king. Robert de Mowbray and a lord of the noble house of March were made prisoners in this action, and Hugh de Beauchamp was killed. William of Newbury says, that all the knights of the Temple and Hospital, who did not fall in the field, were separated from the other captives by the orders of Saladin, and beheaded in his sight; which cruelty in him was caused (as other writers inform us) by the custom of those knights to put all the Mahometans whom they took to the sword. However this may have been, the fact is confirmed by the history before-cited of that prince's life, which gives this further account of what was done by him after his victory, "The sultan, joyful and exulting on this extraordinary mark of the favour of God, commanded that King Guy, and Arnaud de Chatillon, should be brought to his tent. There he gave to the king, who was ready to die with thirst, a bowl of sherbet cooled with snow, which that prince, having drunk

A. D. 1187.

Galf. de Vini-
fauf, l. i. c. 5.Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 487, 488.Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 16.Salad. Vit.
c. 35. p. 70,
71.
Ibidem, c. 3.
p. 27, 28.

as much as he would thereof, delivered to Chatillon. Saladin, turning, hereupon, to his interpreter, said, *Tell the king, that it is not I, but he, who has given drink to this man.* The meaning of which words the historian thus explains, that, according to the custom of the Arabians, arising from their sacred regard to hospitality, and their generous sentiments of virtue and honour, when any captive has received from the person who took him either meat or drink he is thereby assured of life. The sultan, having so spoken, dismissed the prisoners to the lodging which he had assigned for them, where some food was given to them; and, soon afterwards, when he was left in his tent with only a few of his servants, they were bid to return; and, the king being seated in the vestibule of the tent, Chatillon was introduced to Saladin, who reminded that lord of what he had said to the dishonour of Mahomet, and added, *I will now be the prophet's champion.* He then made him a proffer of the Mahometan faith, which being refused, he drew his scymeter, and aimed a blow at Chatillon's neck, but wounded him in the shoulder. His attendants immediately finished the execution, and threw the dead body, bleeding, out of the door of the tent, at the feet of the king, who, beholding this sad object, did not doubt that he himself must within a few minutes undergo the same fate. But the sultan, calling him in, bad him *be of good comfort; for it was not*
the

the custom of kings to murder kings; and as for that man, he had brought this death on himself by his iniquitous conduct."

BOOK V.
A. D. 1187.

On the following day the castle of Tiberias was surrendered to this victorious prince, and after a few more Ptolemais, the most opulent trading city on all that coast. But, before I proceed to relate the particulars of his further conquests, it will be proper to observe, that, neither in the account of the battle of Tiberias, delivered by the writer of the Life of Saladin, from the testimony of those who had been present therein (as he declares), nor in the letter above-cited from one of the knights templars who had also been in that action, is there any accusation of the earl of Tripoli, for having (as many writers of that age have supposed) in consequence of a secret agreement with Saladin, betrayed the Christian army, by posting them in a place where they had not room to act, and where no water could be found. On the contrary, the letter says, *they were driven by the enemy from their first post*. And certainly, as the sultan had a cavalry far superior in number to their's, the earl acted with prudence in endeavouring to secure the flanks and rear of the army entrusted to his conduct by mountains and defiles. But they were greatly over-matched; and it is rather surprising, that they should have been able to maintain a fight, against such odds, one whole day, than that they should have been forced to

quit their ground the next morning, and retire to an eminence, where the firing of the woods, and want of water, which that place did not afford to them, constrained them to lay down their useleſs arms. The earl of Tripoli's early flight ſeems to have been the foundation of all the imputations of perfidy and treaſon which were afterwards thrown upon him: but, had there been any treaty, or amicable intelligence, between him and Saladin, the writer of that ſultan's Life, who appears to have been truſted with the ſecret of his moſt important affairs relating to this war, would, probably, have known it, and could not have any reaſon to conceal it from his countrymen when he publiſhed his book, after the death of both parties: but he ſpeaks of the earl in a manner very hoſtile, and particularly inconfiſtent with the notion entertained by ſome ancient writers, of his having apoſtaſied from the Chriſtian to the Mahometan faith, or promiſed ſo to do.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

f. 477, 478.

The conſternation in Europe on the firſt tidings brought thither of this defeat was exceſſive. We have a letter to Henry from Peter of Blois, who then was in Sicily, giving him an account, in few words, of what they had heard about it, and of the effects which the news had there produced. He ſays, that the king immediately put on ſack-cloth, and, paſſing four entire days in deep retirement and mourning, devoutly vowed and reſolved

resolved to succour the Holy Land to the utmost
most of his power.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

From many accounts it appears, that in this calamity there was nothing which so vehemently affected the passions of men in all parts of Christendom, as the losing of that cross, "*on which* (says an English contemporary historian) *our Lord and Redeemer had hung, which had been wetted with the blood of Christ; the sign of which men venerate, angels adore, devils dread; and by the protection of which the Christians in that country had hitherto been victorious in all their wars.*"

Galf. de Vinisau, l. i. c. 5.

Some writers affirm, that the hearing of this news accelerated the death of Pope Urban the Third, who was worn out with age, and had been sick for some time. He died at Ferrara on the nineteenth of October in this year eleven hundred and eighty-seven. A little before his decease, the report of these disasters being brought into Aquitaine, Richard, seized with the general fanaticism of the times, (which was strengthened in him by another kind of enthusiasm more natural to his temper, a passionate ardour for glory,) without asking his father's leave, or advising with any friends, or allowing himself proper time to consider the consequences which might probably follow from it, immediately took the cross. When this was told to his father, who then was in Normandy, that monarch was silent, and continued to be so, on the subject, till Richard came to his court, and

Gervase, col. 1511. Neubrigenis, l. iii. c. 22. Galf. de Vinisau, l. i. c. 17.

Neubrigenis, ut supra.

and some days afterwards ; but, at last, he mildly asked him, “ whether he had done well and agreeably to his duty in so hastily undertaking such an arduous enterprize without consulting him? Nevertheless (added he) I will by no means oppose your pious resolution, but enable you to perform it in the most distinguished manner.”

Doubtless, he thought it prudent (as the act was irrevocable without a dispensation from the papal authority) not to blame what he knew could not easily be prevented. But it is also very probable, that he was not sorry to see the fiery spirit of Richard, if he himself, on the call of this extraordinary occasion, should go to the holy war, employed in the same service ; by which it would be withheld from raising disturbances during that expedition, either in France or in England. Nor was it displeasing to him, that the match of his son with Adelaïs of France, if that prince should not press the consummation thereof before his return from the East, might thus be eluded, and the difficulty of refusing either to give her to him, or send her back to Philip, which embarrassed him more than all his other affairs, removed to a great distance.

Pope Gregory the Eighth, who succeeded to Urban the Third, by a general epistle, dated on the twenty-ninth of October eleven hundred and eighty-seven, exhorted all christian princes, nobles, and people, to join in
this

this crusade, promising to as many as should engage therein the same indulgences from his see, and the same protection with respect to their goods and possessions, as former popes had conferred on any former crusaders. From this epistle it appears, that, when Gregory wrote it, the news of Jerusalem's having been taken by Saladin was not yet brought to Rome; but, probably, it was known there before his decease, which happened on the nineteenth day of December. The most authentic accounts of this memorable revolution in contemporary authors I find to be as follows:

Almost all the garrisons in the several fortresses of the Holy Land and the adjacent sea coast, having been drawn out, or much weakened, to form the army which Saladin destroyed in one battle, Cæsarea, Sidon, Berytus, Jaffa (called anciently Joppa) and many more towns and castles of considerable note, were in less than three months surrendered to that sultan, or to his lieutenants. The conquest of Ascalon, which is said to have been in a good state of defence, was facilitated to him by his having induced the captive king, whom he carried along with him, wheresoever he went, to order his subjects there, and the queen, who then acted as regent of the kingdom, to give up that city, as a ransom for his person; which was accordingly done; yet the liberty of this prince was not restored to him till the month of May

Neubrig.
l. iii. c. 17.
Salad. Vit.
c. 57. p. 90,
91.
Abulfeda.
Benedict.
Abbas.
t. ii. p. 474.
Galf. de
Vinislaus,
l. i. c. 9.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1187.

in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight. From Ascalon, Saladin, having first, by detachment, taken Gaza and other places, which made little or no resistance, advanced, with all his forces, reunited under his imperial standard, and laid siege to Jerusalem, which had indeed, by the numbers that had sought a refuge there from many parts of the country, a vast multitude of defenders, but very few soldiers, and all under the orders of a priest and a woman, the patriarch Heraclius and the queen Sibylla, assisted only by one chief, who knew any thing of war, the prince of Sidon. The sultan, therefore, from whom their weakness was not hidden, refused at first to grant them any capitulation, declaring; he would take the town by storm, as the Franks had taken it from the Mahometans. But, perceiving that despair inspired them with courage, and desiring to finish his conquest, he allowed them to purchase their lives and liberty with ten bisants of gold for every man in the city, five for every woman, and one for every child; all who should not be able to pay those sums being devoted to bondage. In consequence of these terms fourteen thousand were made slaves; and all the others, who had paid the rate imposed, were safely conducted to Tyre and Antioch, which yet remained unsubdued. The queen went to the latter, having been kindly and honourably treated by Saladin. The only offence that was given, by that prince

Abulfeda,
c. 17.
Salad. Vit.
ut supra.

Gali. de
Vinitauf, l. i.
c. 9, 10.

prince or his army, to any of the Christians; in the taking of Jerusalem, was, that a large gilded crucifix, erected on the top of the church of the hospital, was pulled down by the soldiers, dragged in the dirt, spit upon, and (as some writers say) whipt, through all the streets of the city, for two days together. We learn from Abulfeda, an Arabian historian who flourished in those times, that, on its being thrown down, a louder scream of lamentation was raised by the Franks, than the Musulmen ever had heard before from that people, on any other occasion, in the whole course of the war. It must however be observed, that this contumely was not designed against Christ, whom the Mahometans venerate, but against the superstitious and idolatrous worship of crosses and crucifixes, which they justly abhor. William of Newbury mentions a noble act of humanity done by the sultan, in permitting all the sick in the hospital at Jerusalem to remain quiet there, till they should die or recover, and appointing some knights, belonging to that house, to attend upon and nurse them, though he was not bound to this by the capitulation.

Thus, on the twenty-ninth day of September in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, Jerusalem was recovered by the Mahometans, and again annexed to Ægypt, after having been held by the Latin Christians, or Franks, during ninety-six years, and governed by princes of the family of Anjou during fifty-

A. D. 1187.
Galf. de Vini-
sauf, l. i.
c. 9. 10.
See also Salad.
Vit. and
Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
p. 509.
Abulfeda,
c. 7.

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 17.

fifty-eight, taking into the account the reign of Sibylla, who shared the throne with her husband. If a land be more defiled (as it certainly is) by the wickedness of those who dwell therein, than by errors in points of faith, the Holy Land was much purified by Saladin's conquest of it, he and those he brought thither being infinitely less vicious than those he expelled from it, as even the best Christian writers of that age confess. Nor could it be otherwise: for the most atrocious offenders, in all parts of Christendom, were, by the mode of devotion which then prevailed, sent thither to gain a remission of their sins, or sought a secure asylum there against the vindictive justice of their several countries. The king himself had been one of these fugitive criminals: whereas Saladin (excepting a boundless ambition which had impelled him to many unjust usurpations) appears to have had no one vice, but to have excelled in all virtues; and the good example he gave, with the strictness of his justice, made his subjects more obedient to all the moral laws of civil society, than most others in the world. His usurpations themselves were excused by the zealous Mahometans, as conducive to what the spirit of their religion, and the positive precepts of their law, taught them to think a most meritorious design, the uniting of all the Musulmen under his orders, to make war on the Franks, and drive them out of the East. " With this purpose

" (says

“ (says the author of his Life before cited) his whole soul was taken up ; all his discourse, meditation, and attention being drawn to this one point !” Accordingly, though the winter of the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven was now begun, he had no sooner settled Jerusalem to his mind, than he undertook the siege of Tyre, which had not yet received his yoke.

It's resistance was owing to the unexpected arrival of Conrade, the youngest son of the marquis of Montferrat, and brother to Queen Sibylla's first husband. This prince, who had married a sister of the emperor of Constantinople, having taken the cross, proposed to go by sea to Palestine, and came, the third day after Ptolemais was taken, within view of that city ; but observing, as he approached, that no crosses could be seen on the steeples or towers, and that he heard no bells ring, he concluded that it was in the sultan's possession, and sailed from thence to Tyre, which he found just preparing to submit to Saladin. Some forces he brought with him, his animating discourses, and the high reputation he had gained in arms, by subduing a rebellion at Constantinople, the leader of which he had killed with his own hand, so raised the drooping spirits of the citizens, that, putting themselves wholly under his command and government, they resolved to hold out to the utmost extremity.

Thus

BOOK V.
A. D. 1187.

Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 18.
Nicetas Iſa.
Angl. l. ii.
c. 1.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1187.

Salad. Vit.

c. 35. p. 72.

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

f. 509, 510.

Hoveden.

Galf. de Vini-

fauf, l. i. c. 10.

Newbrig.

l. iii. c. 18,

19.

Saladin. Vit.

c. 38.

Abulfeda,

c. 27.

Thus a remainder of strength, and a communication by sea with succours from Europe, were preserved in those parts. Saladin had besieged Tyre before he took Ascalon; but, finding that the latter would be the easier conquest, he then raised his siege, to which he now returned, on the eleventh of November in this year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, and, having ordered a fleet of ten gallies from Ægypt to cruize before the port, assaulted the city on the side of the continent, with thirteen *catapults* (the great artillery of those times) which threw heavy stones against the walls. He also tried another method to conquer the obstinacy of the intrepid Conrade, by threatening, if he did not surrender the place, to put to death his father, the old Marquis of Montferrat, who, having come to Jerusalem a little before the battle of Tiberias, had attended the king to that unfortunate action, and had, with him, lost his freedom. But Conrade slighted this menace, and the sultan did not carry it into execution. On the twenty-ninth of December, about break of day, a fleet, fitted out within the harbour of Tyre, suddenly attacked that of Ægypt, took five of the gallies, and destroyed all the others. This defeat constrained Saladin to raise the siege with disgrace. Most of his troops were sent home, and he, with the Mamalukes (a body of soldiers formed by him, and attendant on his person) wintered at Ptolemais.

The day after Conrade had been received into Tyre, the earl of Tripoli and the prince of Sidon, having made their escape from the battle of Tiberias, came to that city, and endeavoured to get it into their possession; but Conrade drove them out, and hanged some of their party. The earl, covered with shame, took refuge at Tripoli, where, soon after his arrival, he died of a pleurisy, according to the writer of the Life of Saladin above-cited, or (according to others) of a fever, attended with a frenzy. His subjects, after his death, put themselves under the government of Boamond, prince of Antioch: and the prince of Sidon went to aid the queen of Jerusalem in defending that city, which, if he and the earl of Tripoli had been accomplices (as some authors suppose) in treason against her husband, he, surely, would not have done, but would rather have repaired to the camp of the sultan. Nor would she have admitted him to her court and her council, had there been the least suspicion of such a perfidy at that time.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1187.
Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 18.

V. Authores
citatō
ut suprà.

We have a letter to Henry from the patriarch of Antioch, written just after Saladin had laid siege to Jerusalem, in which that prelate tells the English monarch, " that, as
" *he was pre-eminent above all other kings of*
" *the West, in prudence, fame, and riches,* the
" distressed Christians of the East implored
" him to make haste, and bring them, in that
" extremity of their danger, a powerful suc-
" cour, that the holy sepulchre of our Lord,

Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
f. 503, 504.
Hoveden,
ad ann. 1188

BOOK V. "and the noble city of Antioch, might be
 A. D. 1188. "saved by him from subjection to foreigners
 "and infidels, which would be an eternal
 "disgrace to Christendom."

Henry's answer was addressed, not only to this patriarch, but also to Heraclius, to Boadmond, prince of Antioch, and to all the eastern Christians, whom he assures, "that, even
 "sooner than they could hope, such a multitude of the faithful would come to their
 "assistance, *as eye had not seen, nor ear heard,*
 "*neither had it entered into the heart of man to*
 "*conceive:* and that, among other princes,
 "he and his son Richard, rejecting all the
 "glory of this world, despising all it's pleasures, and submitting all it's interests to
 "their concern for this object, would personally visit them, and employ their whole
 "force to succour and defend them."

Benedict.
 Abbas.
 Hoveden.

This resolution having been taken, Henry wished to go over from Normandy into England, in order to make there all the necessary preparations for such an enterprize, and to ask the consent and aid of his parliament for the carrying it on: but, when he was come to the sea side, he was stopt by receiving intelligence from his ministers, that the king of France was arming, to force him immediately to restore Gisors and all it's dependencies, or marry his son to the princess Adelaïs. Hereupon he turned back, and hastened to Gisors, between which place and Trie he and Philip held a conference on the twenty-first day of
 January

January in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight. BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

To this meeting came William, the learned archbishop of Tyre, who has left us a history of the holy wars, from the first beginning of them to the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, in style and matter far superior to any other historical composition of that age, or of many preceding ages. He was sent to implore all the powers of Europe to aid the Holy Land, and did it so successfully, that not only the king of England, who appears to have determined upon it before, but the king of France also, and with him the earl of Flanders, the earl of Champagne, and a great number of princes, lords, and knights, assembled here to deliberate on this proposition, took the cross from his hands. As Philip now had a son, the objections to his going on such a dangerous expedition were in some degree lessened; and his quarrel with Henry was easily made to give way, in the present temper of his mind, to the exhortations of the prelates and intercessions of the nobles, without any great discussion of the points in dispute.

Proper methods of providing for the enormous expences of this undertaking were settled between the two kings, with the assent of all present; and we find that this plan was afterwards ratified in a council of the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, convened by Henry at Mans, the acts of which are pre-

V. author
citatos ut
supra.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

served in Roger de Hoveden's annals: nor do I doubt of it's having been likewise confirmed in Normandy and in Aquitaine by particular acts of those states: but that it was so in England is undeniable; and, as the substance of what the several assemblies enacted is much the same, I will only recite the resolutions or statutes of the English parliament thereupon, omitting to mention any further particulars of these proceedings in France, except, that, to distinguish the nations engaged in this crusade, the crosses there given to the French were red, those to the Flemish were green, and those to the English were white.

Gervase,
col. 1522.

Gedington

On the thirtieth of January in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight Henry landed in England, and on the eleventh of February met his great council at ~~Gritington~~ *Gedington* in Northamptonshire, where, *after much debate*, it was resolved to agree to the following articles relative to the crusade.

The first was only a declaration of a plenary absolution from all sins repented of and duly confessed, which, it was said, would be given, *by the authority of God, of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Chief Pontiff*, to all persons, whether ecclesiasticks or laymen, who should take the cross.

The next confirmed the ordinance, made in France by both kings, and by the archbishops, bishops, and other nobles there assembled, that all those, whether ecclesiasticks or laymen, who did not go to this war, should give the

the tenth part of all their rents for one year, BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.
and of all their goods, in gold, silver, or any other things, except the books, the wearing cloaths, and the sacred vestments of clergymen, and the ornaments of chapels, and jewels, (whether belonging to clergymen or laymen) and the horses, arms, and apparel, of military men, which were for their own proper use. All clergymen, knights, and squires, who should go to this war, were to have the tenths of the lands held under them in demesne, and of the lands of their vassals; and to give nothing themselves. But burgesses, or free socmen, going without the consent of their respective lords, were nevertheless to give tenths: a clause inserted to hinder these two classes of men, by whose absence from their homes the tillage and trade of the kingdom might be grievously hurt, from engaging in this warfare: notwithstanding which it appears Neubrigenfis,
l. iii. c. 23. that many of them took the cross; so strong was the desire of gaining the indulgences offered by the pope, and so contagious the frenzy of this species of fanaticism among all sorts of people!

Regulations were made to restrain the crusaders from swearing, and from gaming, and from any luxury in their dress, and from ever having at their tables more than two dishes of any thing bought; and to forbid every man from taking with him any woman, except a single washerwoman, who was to go on foot, and of whom (says the statute) there can be

Gervase,
col. 1522.

no fuspicion: that is, (I fuppofe) ſhe was to be old and ugly. But no perſon was to go in torn or ragged cloaths.

Almoſt all theſe reſtraints were very proper and uſeful; as one of the greateſt difficulties in theſe expeditions was the being incumbered with ſuperfluous numbers and unneceſſary baggage. By other clauſes, here enacted, power was given to any of the clergy or laity, going upon this ſervice, to mortgage all their revenues, eccleſiaſtick or ſecular, for the term of three years from the enſuing feaſt of Eaſter, during which time the creditors (whatever became of the debtors) were to receive all the fruits of what had been morgaged to them. And out of any eſtates which had been mortgaged before the taking of the croſs, the debtor, who had taken it, was to receive all the profits during one year, and then they were to revert to the creditor; but ſo, as that whatever fruits he received were to be reckoned in diſcharge of the principal ſum of the debt, which was to carry no intereſt during the time of the debtor's being abroad. The money of any who died in this expedition was to be divided according to the advice and direction of certain diſcreet perſons, appointed for this purpoſe, and agreeably to the uſes for which it had been brought. This was a wiſe regulation; as from the numbers ſo dying a large fund would accrue for the ſervices of the war, and for the ſupport of the ſervants, whom the death

death of their masters might otherwise leave in want. BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

These articles having had a parliamentary sanction, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, together with the bishops of Durham and Norwich, had already taken the cross, rising up in the general assembly, and haranguing the people, denounced excommunication against any persons, who, for seven years to come, should begin or foment any war. This was done to secure the internal peace of the kingdom during the crusade. The archbishop and his vicar, the bishop of Rochester, preached, the same day, before the king and parliament *on the mystery of the cross*, most impertinently applied to this intended warfare, in which, among many others of the nobles present there, engaged Ranulph de Glanville, grand justiciary of the realm, whom his office and age would have certainly kept in England, to attend to the government and custody of it while the king should be absent, if enthusiasm could have listened, in any degree, at this time, to the dictates of reason.

The method used by the king, with the advice of his parliament, for collecting the tenths which that assembly had granted, was to chuse a certain number of the clergy and laity, in whose prudence he put a special trust, and to send them into all the several counties, as his commissioners on this business. He likewise ordered, that two hundred of the wealthiest men in London, one hundred in York,

Brompton,
Chron.
Neubrigens.
l. iii. c. 23.
l. iv. c. 4.
Gervase,
col. 1522,

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hovedens

BOOK V.
A.D. 1188.

and proportionably in all the other cities of England, should appear before him, at times and places assigned. From these he took the tenth part of their revenues and chattels, according to the estimation of men of good character, who knew what they were. How the tax was collected from the poorer inhabitants we have no information; only it may be presumed from what is said by some writers, that less strictness was used in valuing their chattels: but we are told, that if any who came before the king, for the payment of these tenths, were refractory against it, he instantly threw them into jail, and kept them there in irons till they had paid the last farthing. This he was forced to do; immense supplies being wanted to defray the expences, which the enterprise wherein he and multitudes of his subjects, with their own consent, were engaged, would necessarily demand. On such an occasion the sparing the money of those who did not go out of the kingdom would have sacrificed the lives of those who did. Yet most of the monks were displeased, that their wealth was not free from this general contribution, though required for a service, which even their master, the pope, had declared to be holy, and vehemently pressed on all princes. But William of Newbury, the most candid of all the ecclesiasticks who wrote in that age, bears testimony to Henry, "that, during his whole reign he had never imposed,"

Vid Antho-
res citatos ut
suprà.

Newbrigenfis,
l. ii. c. 25.

" sed,

“ fed, either on his English or transmarine BOOK V.
 “ dominions, any one grievous burthen, till A. D. 1188.
 “ these *tenths* for the Holy War, which
 “ were equally levied in many other coun-
 “ tries. Nor had he, on pretence of any ne-
 “ cessity (as other princes used to do) ever
 “ laid any tax on the lands that were held
 “ by churches and monasteries in frank al-
 “ moigne, but had always been as careful
 “ of their rights and possessions as of his
 “ own demesnes.”

Gervase of Canterbury says, that in Eng- Gervase, col. 1529.
 land, by these tenths, above seventy thou-
 sand pounds were raised from the Christians,
 and sixty thousand from the Jews; which
 all together may be estimated, on the lowest
 computation, as equivalent in those days to
 little less than a grant of two millions sterling See notes to the first vol. p. 401.
 in these. The sum paid by the Jews amounted See Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 151. c. 7.
 (as appears by the Exchequer accounts) to
 a fourth part of their chattels. Their numbers
 had, probably, much increased in England, by
 the expulsion of all their countrymen out of Gul. Armor. ad ann. 1182.
 France, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-
 two, an act done by Philip to gain popularity,
 and to profit (as he did) by the confiscation of all
 their immoveable goods, but coloured perhaps,
 and reconciled to his conscience, by the bigotry
 of the times. Henry's mind, more enligh-
 tened, saw that men of all religions are enti-
 tled to all the rights of humanity, and that
 no blasphemy is so horrid against the name
 of Christ, as the making it authorize any
 violation

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.

violation of the moral laws of nature, or of that universal benevolence to mankind, which his precepts most strongly inculcate and injoin. He also saw that the Jews, by settling in his kingdom, greatly added to it's wealth, and therefore gave them encouragement to make it their asylum, when driven from other countries, by protecting them from all wrongs, and doing them many favours, as far as the prejudices of that age would permit. The share they bore in this tax was grievous to them, and much eased his other subjects, but could not soften the rage of religious hatred against them, in the breasts of the common people, which broke out, at the beginning of the following reign, to the destruction of many of them, and to the foul disgrace of Christianity.

Girald. Cam-
brenf. Itinera-
rium Cam-
briae, l. ii.
c. 13.

During the course of this summer the archbishop of Canterbury preached the crusade in Wales. By means of his exhortations three thousand of that nation enlisted in this service. Rhees ap Gryffyth himself would have been one of the number, if he had not been withheld from executing his purpose by the prayers and tears of his wife, who was daughter to Madoc, the prince of Powis-land. For this she is censured by Giraldus Cambrensis: the zeal of those times being such,

Galfr. de Vi-
nifauf, l. i.
c. 17.

that (as we learn from another contemporary historian) "*wives incited their husbands and mothers their sons to this glorious warfare, only grieving, that, by reason of the weak-*
"*ness*

"ness of their sex, they could not go with them." It is very remarkable that Owen Cevilioc was actually excommunicated by the archbishop, because he alone of all the Welsh princes did not come out, with his people, to meet that prelate!

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.
Girald.
Cambr. ibi-
dem, c. 12.

One might wonder that no missionary went into Ireland, to preach the crusade in that isle: but it seems to have been owing to the following weighty reasons. If a number of the English, or of the Welsh, settled there, had gone from thence to the East, the natives would probably have driven out the remainder; and therefore Henry could not desire, or suffer, such a dangerous diminution of his strength in that kingdom. As for the Irish, want of money rendered most of them unable to bear the heavy charges of such an expedition; and some of them were, at this time, engaged in civil wars, particularly those of Conaught; a party there having risen against Conor Manmoy, son of Roderick O Conor, to whom his father, after John's return out of Ireland, had again resigned the reins of government in that province. These rebels, among whom were some of Conor's own relations, invited Curcy, the English deputy under Henry and his son, to come to their aid. The conquest made by that lord of the province of Ulster had just before been secured by the death of O Lachlin, prince or chieftain of Tyrone, who was killed by an English arrow, in a fight with some marauders from the county of Down.

Irish Annals.

BOOK V. Down. Curcy therefore was glad to carry his arms into Conaught, and take this opportunity of reducing that kingdom, which had revolted against John, to the obedience of England. But Conor Manmoy procured aid from Donald O Brian, prince of Limeric; and, by their united forces, the English army, after doing great mischief in that country, was forced to retire out of it, the rebels were defeated, and Conor's authority seemed to be firmly established. Yet, the next year, he was murdered: some of his own nearest friends conspiring against him with the late vanquished party. Nor did the blood of this prince quench the flame of civil discord in this unhappy realm: it continued to burn with the most destructive fury till after the times of which I write; Roderick O Conor remaining, in the monastery chosen by him for his place of retreat, a quiet and helpless spectator of the miserable calamities of his family and his people.

Things being in this state, no supplies for the holy war could be drawn out of Ireland, but Henry did what he could to procure some from Scotland. William the Lion had lately, in a conference with him, desired the restitution of Roxborough and Berwick, two of those castles which, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, had been given to him as pledges for the execution of the articles of the treaty between them, whereby Scotland was made subject to the sovereignty of England.

Jedburgh,

Jedburgh, Sterling, and Edinburgh had been **BOOK V.**
restored, and it does not clearly appear why **A. D. 1188.**
Henry still retained the other two : but I pre-
sume it was because a dispute still continued
concerning the dependance of the Scottish
church on the English. The treaty had de-
clared, that the former should pay that obe-
dience to the latter, *which was due to it, and*
had been usually paid in the times of William's **Benedict.**
predecessors. But all the prelates of Scotland, **Abbas, t. i.**
attending, with their king, in the parliament **P. 236, 137:**
of Northampton, which was held in the year **Hoveden,**
eleven hundred and seventy-six, denied that **ad ann. 1176.**
any *was due, or had ever been paid,* by their
church. Whereupon, the archbishop of York
maintained, that the bishops of Glasgow and
Wittern had acknowledged themselves subject
to his predecessors ; and produced papal bulls,
which confirmed the metropolitan rights of his
see over the church of Scotland. To these
allegations the bishop of Glasgow replied, that
his see, by special grace, was the daughter of
Rome, and exempted from all subjection to
archbishops or bishops ; and, if York ever
had any authority over her, it had been for-
feited, and did no longer exist. Before this
dispute was ended, another arose, between the
archbishops of York and Canterbury ; the
latter affirming that, to his see, not to York,
the church of Scotland was subject. Henry
therefore thought it best to postpone the decision
of the principal question till the two metropo-
litans had settled the controversy between
themselves.

themselves. He dismissed the Scottish prelates, who, at their return into Scotland, privately sent to the pope, and implored his holiness to receive them into his own hands, and protect them, as his immediate dependants, from that subjection which the church of England required. This contest was not brought to it's final conclusion till after Henry's death; but the present state of it, with undecided claims, and much heat on both sides, may have been the excuse for detaining the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick. William offered to redeem them with four thousand marks. To which Henry made answer, that they should be restored, if William would pay to him the tenths of his kingdom for the use of the holy war. That prince, well disposed to satisfy him herein, returned speedily into Scotland, on the borders of which country he soon afterwards met the bishop of Durham, and other ministers sent by Henry on this errand. In this place were assembled, with and under their king, almost all the Scotch barons, spiritual and temporal, and an infinite multitude of his inferior vassals, whom he informed of the cause, for which these English came, and what they demanded. At the conclusion of their deliberation upon it, he notified to the envoys, *that he could not persuade the members of the council to give the tenths.* And they answered for themselves, *that they never would give them, even though the king of England, and their lord the king of Scotland, should have sworn,*

sworn, they would have them: which determination no entreaties or menaces of the envoys could prevail upon them to alter; a remarkable instance of the freedom and the spirit of the Scotch parliament in those days!

I presume, the sole reason of their obstinacy in this matter was the poverty of the nation. For it cannot be supposed that they had less zeal for the recovery of the holy land than the other christian states which agreed to this tax; and they had a further inducement to persuade them to pay it, viz. the desire of regaining the two forts above-mentioned. The same national poverty may have been also one cause of their having given up the sovereignty of their kingdom for the liberty of their king. If they had not redeemed him by making that concession, they must either have paid a heavy ransom for him, or have left him, all his life, a wretched captive in bonds. They would not do this; they could not do the other. Therefore the modern Scotch writers, who blame Henry for imposing too hard terms on that prince, and, through his distress, on the nation, do not consider that he set him free without asking any ransom.

I will only add, on the subject of the present demand, that, as William did not chuse to take the cross, and accompany Henry and Richard into Palestine, it would have been very unsafe to restore to him the forts of Roxborough and Berwick till their return from those parts; more especially, as the English
were

BOOK V. were deprived of their wealth for the support
 A. D. 1188. of this war, to which the Scots would pay nothing. Henry therefore retained them as securities to his crown against any revolt of that people in his absence.

Galf. de Vini-
 fauf, l. i. c.
 19. Histoire
 d'Allemagne
 par P. Barre.
 Chron. Slav.
 l. iii. c. 29.

While these things were transacting in the island of Great Britain, during the course of the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, the archbishop of Tyre had gone from France into Germany, and there preached the crusade, assisted by a legate from Pope Clement the Third, with whom he was joined in commission. Their success was as great as they could wish! The emperor himself, although he was now in the sixty-eighth year of his age, took the cross in a diet assembled by him at Mentz on the twenty-seventh of March, and so did most of the princes and counts of the empire, incited by religion, by their natural bravery, and by his example. The tenths were granted by all the states of the empire, as in France and in England: but, to prevent the disorders which might be caused by a multitude of indigent people engaging in this service, a wise regulation was made, that no man should be permitted to march with the army, who had not means of his own to provide himself with all necessaries for a journey of a year: notwithstanding which order, the number of forces that marched out of Germany, under the imperial standard, was found, on a review which the emperor made in Hungary, to be then about a hundred and fifty
 6 thousand.

thousand. Before that prince set out, he was careful to secure the tranquillity of the empire during his absence ; and therefore adjusted, or waved, some disputes between him and the Roman pontificate, which had almost drawn upon him an excommunication from Pope Urban the Third. With the same intention he obtained a decree from a diet assembled at Goslar, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, by which Henry the Lion was obliged to accompany him to the holy war, or swear to go immediately out of the empire, and not return into any part thereof before the end of three years.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.

Annales Pa-
derborn.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. i.
P. 527, 528,
535. Rimius,
Memoirs of
the house of
Brunswick.
Hist. d'Alle-
magne, par le
P. Barre.

This unfortunate duke, whom the emperor had permitted to come into Germany in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, had from that time been vainly soliciting a restitution of the territories, which the ban of the empire had torn from him in the year eleven hundred and eighty. But, notwithstanding the repeated intercessions of his father-in-law, the king of England; and his son-in-law, the king of Denmark, nothing was done in his favour. It is said indeed, that now, in the diet of Goslar, an option was given to him, either to be reinstated in some of his fiefs, if he would go with the emperor to the holy war; or, if he declined that proposal, to wait in exile for the full recovery of them till the end of three years, at which term this assembly encouraged him to expect it. He chose the latter, not, perhaps, from any confidence in the promise or hopes

thrown out to him, but because his stay in Europe might procure him opportunities, during that period, to do more for himself than was offered by the diet, on the condition of his joining the other potentates of the empire in this crusade. His dutchess, who had gone, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, to live with him at Brunswick, not being able, in the present infirm state of her health, to follow him again into exile, remained in that city, where she died in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine. But the duke, quickly after the rising of the diet, went back to his former refuge, the court of King Henry, whose peace of mind the unhappy state of this branch of his family not a little disturbed. Some of our historians say, the emperor had requested that the duke's eldest son should go with him to the East, meaning thus to make that prince a hostage for his father: but the duke excused himself from giving his consent to this proposition, till he should know the advice of King Henry upon it, which appears to have been such as he desired; for the young prince did not go. The emperor's second son attended him to the holy war; but his eldest, named Henry, who had been, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, chosen king of the Romans, stayed behind him in Germany, to govern the empire, by virtue of that dignity, during his absence, and succeed to it in case of his decease. They had both, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, made peace with

with the Lombards ; in consequence of which Henry was crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan, and, his authority in those parts being firmly established, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five he had married Constantia, a posthumous daughter of Roger, king of Sicily. This alliance, as William the present sovereign had no issue, after living with his wife the king of England's daughter, about nine years, and as there was no lawful son or brother of his father, to claim the succession, gave the king of the Romans a reasonable expectation (which did not prove false) of inheriting Sicily and all that is now called the kingdom of Naples. The barrenness of Queen Jane, probably caused by her having been married too young, destroyed the hopes, which her father had entertained, that those opulent countries would long continue subject to princes of his race. It likewise made the see of Rome exceedingly apprehensive of the consequences of the match between the king of the Romans and the Princess Constantia, as likely to produce a formidable augmentation of the imperial power, which the popes always dreaded, especially when they saw it encrease in Italy. So much did this jealousy inflame the mind of Pope Urban the Third, that he suspended, as soon as he heard of the marriage, all the bishops assistant in the celebration of it : a most scandalous use of ecclesiastical censures for political ends ! But Clement the Third, at this time, found it necessary to be reconciled, however

BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

Galf. de
Vinisauf, l. i.
c. 14.

Diceto.

unwillingly, to the king of the Romans, that no impediment might prevent the emperor's taking part in the present Holy War, to which the papal bulls and legates were warmly exciting all the princes of the empire. He also finished a pacification between the republics of Genoa and Pisa, which his predecessor, Pope Gregory the Eighth, had begun, and persuaded them to unite their maritime forces, very considerable in those days, against the Mahometans on the coast of Palestine and Coelosyria, in aid of the Christians. The king of Sicily, who was still more potent at sea, and nearer to those coasts than any other of the European princes, sent thither a strong fleet, very early in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, by the assistance of which, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, which would else have been lost, were defended.

The king of England, soon after he had taken the cross, sent a minister to the courts of the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople, and likewise to that of Bela, king of Hungary, to ask a safe passage for himself and his army through their territories, and free markets to furnish the necessary provisions. Mention is made in the letters he wrote on this subject, that the king of France and his forces would accompany him in his march. Hence it appears, that these monarchs had determined, at this time, to go together, by land, from France into Palestine, a resolution which afterwards was prudently altered by Philip and Richard,

Richard, on account of the great difficulty of finding subsistence for two such armies combined. It may nevertheless be presumed, from the naval preparations now made by King Henry, that his purpose was to send some part of his forces, from England to Tyre, by sea.

His request was granted by all the three potentates abovementioned: but it is worthy of note, that the German emperor styled him, in the superscription of his letter, *his dearest brother, the illustrious king of England*; but the Greek neither gave him the appellation of *brother*, nor the epithet *illustrious* in the superscription, nor any higher title in the body of his letter, than *your Nobility* (*vestra nobilitas*).

This prince, Isaack Angelus, had, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, dethroned Andronicus, who, after having deposed and put to death Alexius, the son of Manuel Comnenus, had supported his usurped dominion two years, by many cruel deeds, which the furious populace, to whom Isaack delivered him up, revenged as cruelly upon him. Yet the empire was worse governed by his successor than by him. For, inhuman as he was, he had in his character some of those qualities which are useful to a state: but in Isaack Angelus a most extravagant pride was the only mark of greatness.

During the course of this year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, while the princes of Europe were preparing to endeavour the recovery of the Holy Land, Saladin won from the

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.

See Appendix,
from Diceto
Imag. Hist.
col. 636, 637,
638.

Nicetas.

Newbrig. l.
iii. c. 14.
Vit. Salad. c.
41. et seq. us-
que ad 51.
Abulfeda,
c. 29, 30.

Christians the cities of Gabala and Laodicea on the Syrian coast, with many strong castles to the south of those places, between them and Damascus, and to the north in the territory belonging to Antioch, even within a few miles of the capital itself, which forced the citizens to agree to deliver it up, at the end of eight months, if not succoured from Europe before that term. But the garrisons and inhabitants of most of those fortresses, being allowed to go to Tyre, much strengthened that town. The captive king of Jerusalem had been freed by the sultan about the beginning of May, after solemnly promising, that he would never bear arms against that prince, and that, renouncing his kingdom, he would instantly go beyond the sea, into perpetual exile. But, on his arrival at Antioch, the clergy absolved him from this oath, because the city of Ascalon had been yielded to Saladin as the price of his liberty, after which he had still been detained in captivity during several months, and these conditions had finally been superadded, and extorted from him by force. His breach of faith having thus been excused to the Christians, though not to the Mahometans, who loaded him with reproaches, as perfidious and perjured, he drew together some troops, and demanded admission into his city of Tyre; but Conrade refused it; and this quarrel produced an intestine war in those parts among the Franks, which some writers suppose the politick sultan foresaw, when he set the king free. But, before the end of the year,

Galf. de Vini-
sauf, l. i. c. 8.
10, 11, 25.
Vit. Salad. c.
5. 51.

year, the interposition of friends suspended the effects of so pernicious a discord, Conrade remaining sole master of the city of Tyre, and Guy de Lusignan making his abode at Tripoli, where his sovereignty was acknowledged, till about the end of August in the following year, when he and Conrade joined their arms to besiege Ptolemais, under the walls of which town, defended by all the forces of Saladin, and assaulted by the kings of England and France, the greatest actions of this crusade were performed.

Before I proceed to relate the occurrences of the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight in Henry's foreign dominions, it will be proper to finish the ecclesiastical history of the reign of that king, by mentioning some particulars, relating to the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, of which no account has yet been given.

While Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolical see, was exhorting the Welsh to attempt the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, the monks of Canterbury were as busy, and with no less heat of zeal, in trying as Gervase, ad ann. 1188. to get a college for secular canons, which he had begun to build at Hackington, near that city, pulled down. They suspected the truth, that his secret purpose was, to make this foundation a rival to their convent; and, in order to frustrate that project, had, in the preceding year, so exerted their interest with the see of Rome, always disposed to favour them in pre-
X 4
ference

BOOK V.

Gervase,
ad ann. 1187.

V. Append.
from Gervase,
col. 1503.

ference to the bishops or other secular clergy, that Pope Urban the Third, who had authorised his design, and allowed him a fourth part of the offerings made at Becket's tomb, for this, or for any other use, at his pleasure, soon afterwards sent him an apostolical mandate to put a stop to the building, and likewise to restore the prior of the convent and one of the monks, whom he had dared to suspend for having appealed to the Roman see on this business. But, the primate not paying the least regard to this bull, and even refusing to answer to the appeal, Urban appointed the abbots of Battle-abbey, Feversham, and St. Augustin's, his legates, to enforce the execution of what he had commanded; which they preparing to do, the grand justiciary of the kingdom, Ranulph de Glanville, forbade them to proceed; a very remarkable act of the royal prerogative against the papal power! The reader may see the writ of inhibition, transcribed from the Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury in the Appendix to this book. It stopped their proceedings; and the archbishop, supported by the authority of the crown, forbade the monks from holding their usual manor-courts, and seized their possessions.

Ibidem, col.
1508, 1509,
1510.

The pope, informed of these things, repeated his orders to two of the abbots above-named, that, under pain of incurring the heavy displeasure of the apostolic see, they should compel the refractory archbishop to obey his injunctions, within the term of thirty days, and added

added to them the bishops of Bath and Chester. He likewise wrote to the king, and reminded him *how expedient it was for his kingdom, that the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, should continue to be an intercessor for him, which he could not expect, if he did not maintain the privileges and dignities of the church of Canterbury.* His Holiness, therefore, exhorted him *in the Lord*, and enjoined him, *for the remission of his sins*, not to suffer that church to be injuriously treated, nor prohibit or hinder the compleat execution of the mandate now sent to the persons before-mentioned. But the decease of this pontiff, which soon ensued, and Gregory's friendship for Baldwin, rendered all that had been done to favour the monks of no effect; and the archbishop proceeded with so much rigour against them, that, their revenues being all detained, they were forced to live upon alms. Nevertheless, as the life of Gregory, after his election, was of a very short duration, they quickly found a new and zealous protector in his successor Clement, who not only reiterated Urban's injunctions, but also commanded the prior of Feversham and another ecclesiastick to excommunicate those who had been guilty of violence against the monks. This mandate was obeyed; but the sentence was slighted even by the secular clergy of the city of Canterbury, who, in the name of the king and of the archbishop, forbade their parishioners to avoid the society of the excommunicated persons, saying publicly in their sermons,

Gervase, ad
ann. 1188.

Ibidem, col.
1531.

sermons, that the pope's sentence had no force in the archbishop's diocese. And some citizens, among whom was a nephew of Becket, for refusing to hold communion with those who were under this anathema, were committed to the publick house of correction by an order from the king. Clement, amazed and alarmed at this rebellion against his spiritual monarchy, sent to England a cardinal legate on this business, which, however light in itself, was now become of great moment. But, he dying on the road, nothing effectual was done in favour of the monks, till another legate arrived in Henry's foreign dominions, with power to enforce the former bulls; which brought the archbishop to offer a restitution of the lands of the convent on certain conditions. Yet the whole dispute was adjourned till the legate should be able to go into England, and take cognizance of it there. In the mean time the grand justiciary, being sent into England on another affair, had some discourse with the sub-prior of the convent of Canterbury; who intimating to him how much they desired and wanted the king's mercy, his answer was,

" You yourselves will have no mercy, but, from your attachment to the court of Rome, refuse to submit to the advice of your sovereign, or of any other person; nor will you do any thing to please your archbishop, or even condescend to ask his forgiveness with the least supplication." The sub-prior replied, as Becket himself would have done, that,

saving

Gervase, col.
1537, 1538.

Ibidem, col.
1543.

Ibidem, col.
1544.

saving the interests of their monastery, and the rights of the church, they were ready to submit to the counsels of the king and of all good men, but were greatly deterred from trusting to those of the king, by his having suffered them to remain, during almost two years, deprived of all their possessions, and in a manner imprisoned within their own walls. “If you doubt the king (answered Glanville), there are bishops and abbots of your order, and there are barons and churchmen belonging to the court, who, if you would trust your cause to them, would certainly do you justice.” The reply to this was a declaration, that all these were so partial on the side of the archbishop, so complaisant to the king, and so unfriendly to them for whom he (the sub-prior) was concerned, that they did not dare to confide in their arbitration. Whereupon Glanville, quitting him with indignation, said, “*You monks turn your eyes to Rome alone; and Rome alone will destroy you.*”

Soon after this conversation, some deputies from the convent, who had gone into France to the legate, were advised by that prelate to wait upon the king, who was then lying sick at a castle in Touraine, and try to touch his heart, which his present condition might render less obdurate, with compassion towards them. Having, not without difficulty, got access to him, they opened their business by saying, *the convent of Canterbury saluted him as their lord.* To which he abruptly made answer, “*Ye wicked traitors,*

Gervase, col.
1544, 1545,
ad ann. 1189.

tors, I have been, am, and will be your lord. " But go quickly away : I will talk on your affairs with my faithful subjects." As they went from him, one of them (perhaps Gervase himself who has given these particulars) uttered this imprecation, "*May Almighty God, through the merits of the blessed martyr, Thomas, do us justice on thy body !*" We are not told whether Henry heard him or not, but only that he postponed the decision of the controversy till he should return into England, which he did not live to do. From the whole transaction it seems that, as he had the advantage, in this combat with Rome, of fighting behind an archbishop of Canterbury, he fought more boldly, and with better success, than he had formerly done, when an archbishop of Canterbury had been his opponent, and the champion of Rome against his crown.

In Scotland the dispute, between William the Lion and the Roman pontificate, concerning the see of St. Andrew's, was determined about the feast of Pentecost in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine, to the king's satisfaction. The accommodation attempted by Pope Lucius the Third, in the year eleven hundred eighty-six, had not taken effect ; William having refused to give the temporalities of the bishoprick of Dunkeld to John Scott : for which reason Pope Urban, the successor of Lucius, summoned Hugh, who by virtue of that agreement had gained the see of St. Andrew's, to appear before him at Rome.

See p. 153.
of this Vol.
and Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii. p.
511, 512, 513.

Rome. But, this citation having been disobeyed by that prelate till after Urban's death, Clement the Third, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, deposed him from his see, and strongly recommended the electing of John Scott to fill his place. The king, to whom his Holiness wrote on this subject in very respectful terms, was brought to receive Scott as bishop of Dunkeld, on condition of his absolutely renouncing for ever any claim to St. Andrew's. Hugh was obliged to go to Rome, in order to obtain absolution of the pope from excommunication, and died in that city, with almost all his household, of a sickness which raged there in the month of August this year. Soon after his decease, a mandate to the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrew's was sent by the pope, requiring them to receive John Scott as their bishop, within fifteen days from the delivery thereof, and annulling by the apostolic authority any other election, which they had made or should make. He also wrote to King Henry, entreating, admonishing, and even injoining that prince, for the remission of his sins, to exhort and persuade, or (if it should be necessary) *compell* the king of Scotland, *by the power he had over him*, to let Scott enjoy in peace the see of St. Andrew's, as that prelate, on his part, was ready to be, in all points, obedient and faithful to the royal majesty, *so far as in reason he could*. But, these letters not producing the desired effect,

effect, the same pontiff, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine, addressed another to several prelates of Scotland, ordering them to repeat to the king his injunctions concerning this affair, and, if he did not comply with them before the end of twenty days, to excommunicate him, and to put his whole kingdom under an interdict.

This letter was delivered into the hands of Scott, to be used by him at his pleasure : but, tired of the contest, and thinking it more desirable to take quietly what his sovereign was willing to grant, than endeavour to obtain, by such violent methods, a forced consent from that prince to his former election, he suppressed the pope's mandate, and permitted the chapter, without contradiction from him, to elect a son of the earl of Leicester, recommended by William to the see of St. Andrew's. He likewise suffered the king to give in his presence, to one of his own chaplains, the office of chancellor, which he had formerly asked ; contenting himself now with the peaceful enjoyment of the revenues of Dunkeld, together with those of the archdeaconry of St. Andrew's, which he had possessed before his consecration, and was allowed to retain.

Thus honourably for his crown did William the Lion end his long dispute with Rome ! but he owed his success to the quiet temper of Scott, as much as to his own perseverance and firmness. If that prelate had acted

acted with the spirit of Becket, or even of the monks of Canterbury, this affair might have had a different conclusion.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, a provincial synod was held, under John Cumin, the English archbishop of Dublin, for the better regulation of the manners and discipline of the clergy of Ireland. On the second day of their meeting, an Irish abbot, there present, to excuse the incontinence with which the ecclesiasticks of his nation were charged, laid all the blame of the fact (which he did not deny) on the bad examples given to them by the Welsh and English clergy, who were come into their country: and this was verified by two priests of the province of Wexford, transplanted thither from Wales, who accused one another of living each with a woman he had publicly married: which being proved to the council, the archbishop immediately suspended them both, *in order to clear himself* (says Giraldus Cambrensis) *of approving such uncleanness, and such enormities.* By way of recrimination, that author preached, the next day, against the general drunkenness of the Irish clergy, and the negligence of their prelates in the pastoral duties. On the first of these points he says, that the Irish, who were in holy orders, usually fasted till the evening, but made themselves amends by immoderate drinking of wine and other liquors, the greater part of the night.

And

Girald. Cambrensi. de rebus à se gestis, c. 13. 14. in Anglia sacra, l. ii.

BOOK V. And he argues, that probably those who were drunk were not chaste.

I will only observe, that the chief intention of this council appears to have been, the fixing the ~~un~~ natural restraint of celibacy on the clergy of Ireland, from the consequences of which great *uncleanneſs* and great *enormities* did really spring, but which helped to secure the ecclesiastical independence upon civil society, which Rome made the corner-stone of the mighty fabrick of her power. Yet it seems, that in Ireland the designs of the church against the state were somewhat checked at this time. For Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that Prince John, in whose service King Henry had sent him thither, having offered to give him the bishoprick of Fernes, or that of Lechlin, and he having declined to accept either of them, it was proposed by the prince to unite the two dioceses, and make him bishop of both: to which, he says, he replied, "that, if he saw the mind of John incline to *exalt* the Irish church, he might perhaps take this offer, for the sake of co-operating with him therein: but, *there being no such intention*, he chose to remain a private man, rather than to be useful in an eminent station."

It was this zeal for the *exaltation*, not of the Irish church alone, but of the whole Christian priesthood, which probably was the cause of his not being raised to any higher dignity than the archdeaconry of Brecknock, though he
falsely

falsely imputes it to a prejudice against him because he was a Welshman: for Henry had shewn, by the favours he bestowed on the Geraldine family, that no such narrow partiality obstructed the advancement of merit in his reign. And some merit, as a man of learning, Giraldus certainly had: but his mind was so tinctured with the principles of Becket, that it would not have been prudent to let him possess an episcopal see in England. I even incline to believe, that his having been sent into Ireland by Henry, as an attendant on John, was not so much for the sake of any instructions, which he could give to that prince, as from a desire, by promoting and fixing him there, to remove out of England a troublesome and dangerous ecclesiastick. But he disappointed this purpose by refusing the offers so liberally made in Ireland by John, and never had one in England; to the want of which I ascribe that rancorous hatred, which shews itself against Henry in some of his writings, after the death of that king.

I shall now proceed to relate, without interruption, what remains to be told of the foreign affairs of this reign, amidst the continued agitation of which Henry ended his life.

All the ardour of the French for the present crusade, in the first beginnings of it, could not preserve the internal peace of France! Duke Richard himself, the foremost to engage in that religious warfare, was constrained, with the cross upon his breast, to draw his sword

Diceto, col.
639.
Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1188.

Galf. de
Vinifauf,
l. i. c. 25.

Diceto, &
Benedict.
Abbas,
ut supra.

against his own vassals in the dutchy of Aquitaine, presently after his father's return into England, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight. For, Geoffrey de Lusignan, a brother to the king of Jerusalem, following the example of that prince, had, on some private quarrel, perfidiously killed a gentleman of Poitou, whom Richard had honoured with an intimate share of his friendship. The duke flew to revenge him: but the criminal was assisted by all the lords of his kindred, a numerous race of nobles, the terror and pest of that country, who, confederating together in frequent deeds of blood, in murders and rebellions, maintained their own greatness, and drew to their aid other barons, whom fear of punishment, from a consciousness of having deserved it, impelled to faction for safety, or who hated Richard on account of former chastisements inflicted on them by him, or of former wrongs he had done them. Yet all the strength of their league was unequal to the power and valour of that prince. He took and demolished their castles, set fire to their towns, and rooted up all their vines and other fruit-trees on their lands; by which destruction the laws and customs of those times punished felonies and rebellions. Geoffry de Lusignan saved his life by flying out of France, from whence he went by sea to Tripoli, where his brother Guy then resided. Among his accomplices none were spared by the duke, except those who redeemed themselves from the fury of his vengeance,

vengeance, by taking the cross, as many of them did. Having speedily crushed this rebellion, he led his troops to attack the earl of Toulouse, son and successor to that prince against whom he had made war in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. This earl, at the instigation of Peter Seilun, his favourite, had arrested some merchants, who came into his country (perhaps to carry on a forbidden commerce there) from Richard's adjacent domains, and had treated them very cruelly, keeping many of them in close prison, depriving some of their eyes, and others of their lives. In revenge of this injury done to his subjects, the duke, more inclined to seek redress by arms than by any other methods, laid waste the earl's lands, and carried off many captives; but his most important prize was the favourite, Seilun, for whom he asked such a ransom, as the prisoner could not pay, and would be a heavy tax on the bounty of his master, if paid by that prince. To save himself this expence, the earl seized the persons of two English gentlemen, belonging to the king of England's own household, who were passing through Toulouse, on their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, and, after they had been confined some time, sent one of them to the duke, with a power to treat for the liberty of both, on condition that Seilun should be also released. But this proposal was refused, and with good reason, by Richard, because pilgrims were supposed to be

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.
Gervase.

Diceto.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.
Gervase.

under the sacred protection of the saint, whose shrine they visited, and their persons were privileged, by the custom of those times, in going and returning. The king of France, whom this quarrel, which he wished to see composed, had drawn into those parts, agreed with Richard in this point, and ordered the earl to set the two pilgrims free, out of respect to St. James. Yet that prince still insisted on their being redeemed by the release of his imprisoned minister: whereupon Philip left him to make a peace for himself, or sustain the war as he could, Richard then, being free to obtain by force of arms the justice he demanded, hired Brabanters, with whom, joined to his military vassals of the dutchy of Aquitaine, he composed a great army, and in a very short time took the city of Cahors, the strong castle of Moissac, all the province of Quercy, and seventeen castles in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. The earl, fearing the loss of his capital itself, implored the aid of Philip: whence it may be presumed (though I do not find it mentioned) that he had freed the two pilgrims; as without doing this, he could not well expect a favourable answer. Philip chose, hereupon, to negotiate with Henry, rather than with Richard, and sent complaints to that king of Richard's dispossessing the earl of his territory, and violating the peace of the kingdom of France, which the sovereign was obliged at all times to maintain, but more especially now, when a crusade was begun.

Henry

Henry answered very truly, that none of these thing; had been done by his advice, or even with his consent. But Philip marched into Berry, where he knew that Chateauroux and other places of importance would be quietly yielded to him, by the treachery of the citizens and nobles of that province, whom he had secretly gained, and that some were not able to make any resistance, expecting no attack. Accordingly, most of the towns and fortresses in that country opened their gates to receive him; and by similar arts he also gained possession of the town and district of Vendome.

When Henry enquired for what reason he was robbed of these territories by that king, who, even before their uniting in the crusade, had, by a publick, solemn act, preparatory to it, engaged to protect them against all other powers, the answer made to him was, that Philip had done it to revenge the wrongs which he and the earl of Toulouse had received from Duke Richard. But that prince assured his father (and probably told him no falsehood) that he had done nothing without Philip's permission, grounded on the perverse refusal of the earl to accept a peace offered to him. Henry therefore sent Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to represent to that monarch the injustice of his conduct, and the inconsistency of it with his former covenants upon oath, and the sacred vow he had made. But he hardly vouchsafed to give them an audience, and, when he did,

BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

was unmoved with all their remonstrances and all their exhortations. This forced the king of England, much against his inclinations, to hasten back into France. On the eleventh of July he landed at Barfleur, from whence he went to Alençon, where an army of Normans, (which John, whom he had sent, for that purpose, before him, had already assembled) was joined to another, composed of English and Welsh, brought over by his orders.

It is certain that Philip's attacking of Berry, in the manner above-mentioned, was not (as some modern historians have surmized) concerted with Richard: for that prince, while his father was detained in England, led an army to oppose the French in that province, and, on the retreat of their king, who did not stay to face him, layed waste the domains of the earls and barons there, whom Philip had seduced from their fealty to Henry, and took many of them prisoners. He also made himself master of a very strong castle not far distant from Vendome, in which were twenty-five knights and forty men at arms, besides archers and foot soldiers. After Henry's arrival, the bishop of Beauvais first, and then the king of France himself, burned some castles and towns on the borders of Normandy. But Henry, desirous to free himself from the blame of willingly making this war, and to comply with the forms established in those days, when vassals were forced to fight, in defence of their rights, against their sovereigns, sent a message to

Benedict.
Abbas,
t. ii. p. 516,
517.
Hoveden.

Ibidem.

to Philip, demanding restitution of what had been taken, from him, and, if this was refused, renouncing the allegiance he owed to that monarch for the fiefs he held in his kingdom, and declaring he would treat him, from henceforth, as an enemy. To which Philip replied, that he would not sheath his sword, till he had subdued and annexed to his royal domain the entire provinces of Berry and the Norman Vexin. When this answer was received, Henry put himself at the head of a powerful army, entered into the French Vexin, and ravaged the whole country from Gisors as far as to the gates of Mante. Philip did not oppose him: but a party of French horse, under William des Barres, and Drogo de Merlou, meeting Richard and the earl of Albemarle, with the knights of Henry's household, in the neighbourhood of Mante, a sharp combat ensued, in which Des Barres, who was called *The Achilles of France*, was unhorsed by Richard and taken; but, having given his word of honour, as a prisoner, and therefore not being guarded, while Henry's soldiers were intent on securing other captives, he mounted his page's horse, and made his escape; which fixed such a stain upon his reputation, as could not be removed by all the glory he gained upon other occasions.

This action happened about the latter end of August; and a few days afterwards Henry, not venturing to attempt the siege of Mante, retired to Ivery, and permitted his son Richard

BOOK V.

A. D. 1188.

Gul. Armori-

cus, de gestis

Phil. Aug.

Brito Philip-

pidus.

Benedict.

Abbas.

to return into Berry, where that prince, whose active mind was eager on new projects, proposed to do him good service. The next day, his Welsh forces pillaged and burned to the ground the castle of Damville, and many other towns or villages in the territory of Philip, and killed all the men they found therein; while the earl of Albemarle, at the head of another detachment, set fire to the town of St. Clair sur Epte, and destroyed a fine garden, which the king of France had planted with his own hands.

These were barbarous methods of carrying on a war; but, that very day, an embassy came from Philip, to offer Henry peace, with a restitution of all which he had lost in Berry. This proposal soon afterwards brought on a conference between the two monarchs, in a plain near Gisors, which was open and entirely destitute of shade, except in one part, adjacent to the castle, where stood an ancient elm, of an extraordinary size and beauty, under the branches of which a great number of men might be easily sheltered, at any hour of the day, from the heat of the sun. Many conferences had been held, in ancient times, on this plain, between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy; and, probably, when their quarrels were inflamed by no resentments of a personal nature, the shade of this tree, though the land on which it grew belonged to the Normans, was made equally serviceable to the chiefs of both nations, who met

met and talked beneath it. But, the present animosity between Henry and Philip being greater than usual, the former stood, with his nobles, under the canopy of the spreading boughs, protected from the heat, which at this time was extreme, while the latter and his nobles were rudely suffered to endure the violence of it without any shelter. After disputing two days, the French, impatient of this affront to their king, and further provoked by the petulant railery of some of Henry's attendants, attacked them sword in hand. Henry fled to the castle, but in passing the bridge, many of those who endeavoured to secure his escape were killed or drowned. Philip, master of the field, commanded the tree to be cut down; which being done, he departed, and returned to a castle within his own borders.

Yet, notwithstanding these marks of a hostile temper on both sides, the war did not go on: for the earls of Flanders and Blois, with other nobles of France, plainly declared to the king, that it was a resolution, taken by them all, to lay down their arms, and use them no more against Christians, till after their return from the crusade. Some notice of this had probably been the cause of his offering peace before, and it forced him to desire another meeting with Henry, on the seventh of October, which was not refused by that prince; but nothing was settled, because Richard, whom his father had recalled

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ut supra.

Diceto, col.
out 641.

BOOK V.
A. D. 1188.

Benedict.
Abbas,
Hoveden, ut
suprà.

out of Berry, where he had made a fruitless attempt to recover Chateauroux, objected to a general restitution proposed as the basis of the treaty, alledging that Cahors and the other places gained by him in the earldom of Toulouse, being held in demesne, produced to him a revenue of more than a thousand marks a year, which he would not give up, to purchase the restitution of castles and baronies, the fruits of which would accrue to those who held them under him by military tenure. His father also refused to deliver to Philip the castle of Pacey, which that king had demanded as a security for the peace. This interview therefore proved as ineffectual as the former; and Philip, though deserted by almost all his nobles, renewed hostilities against Henry by the help of some Brabanters, at the head of whom he took a castle in Berry: but, a body of these troops having mutinied for their pay, he promised to give it them in the city of Bourges, and having thus drawn them thither, secretly ordered his forces in garrison there to seize their arms and horses; which disabling them to resist, he took from them also the money they had just received, with all they had besides, and turned them out almost naked: a useful example of terror to the mercenaries of those days!

Gul. Armoric.
Rigord.
W. Brito Philippiad.
Diceto.

Winter now coming on, no farther operations of war were attempted by either of the parties: but the campaign being over, Richard pressed that his marriage with the princess

princess Adela might be no longer deferred. BOOK V.
 What excuse Henry found for denying his A. D. 1188.
 request, or evading the performance, we are
 not told: but, probably, he might urge the
 impropriety of contracting so close an alli-
 ance with Philip before peace was concluded;
 and it might be with a view to remove this
 objection, that Richard sent, at this time, an
 offer to that monarch of attending his court Benedict.
 of justice, and submitting all disputes with Abbas.
 the earl of Toulouse to their judgement. Hoveden, ut
suprà. The
 proposal was fair; but Henry was not plea-
 sed with it, objecting, I presume, to the par-
 tiality of the judges, as Philip had before
 taken part in the controversy on the side of
 the earl. Another plausible reason for delay-
 ing Richard's marriage was his having engaged
 in the crusade: but, if this was used by Henry,
 it had no effect on that prince. He insisted,
 that the ceremony should instantly be con-
 cluded, and was strongly backed by Philip,
 who likewise joined him in requiring that an
 oath of fealty to him, as heir apparent to his
 father, should be taken by all Henry's liege
 subjects in England and in all his transmarine
 dominions.

It has been shewn in this work, that such
 an acknowledgment of the right of succe-
 ssion, and security for it, had always been
 given to the eldest son of the king, from the
 time of Henry the First inclusively. It had
 been given to the elder brother of Richard be-
 fore he was crowned; and, though Henry had

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ut suprà.
Diceto, col.
641.
Gervase, col.
1536, 1537.

good reasons for not *crowning* Richard, he could have none for denying him the customary assurance of his claim of inheritance, unless he meant to leave by his last will and testament, or to grant, in his life-time, some part of his territories to his youngest son, John. And, probably, he did wish, that either Anjou or Aquitaine should be made over to that prince. But Richard, not inclined to relinquish any portion of what he was heir to, either from his father or mother, desired to have the whole secured by the oaths of the vassals, and for the sake of engaging the king of France to assist him in this important object, urged the marriage with his sister, which he had never till now very eagerly sought, but had rather seemed to avoid. In this temper of mind he accompanied Henry, on the eighth of November, to a conference with that monarch, where, in concert with him, Philip offered a restitution of all he had taken, if Henry would deliver Adelais to Richard, and let that prince receive, from all his several vassals, the oaths of fealty he asked. Henry's answer was short, that he would not yield to either of these propositions in the present state of things, when it might seem that he did it not spontaneously, but by force. The first day's conference passed with some decency on all sides: in the second the words grew high and warm: but in the third the debates were accompanied with such menaces, that the knights who were present laid their hands on their swords. The

mediation of the prelates with difficulty prevented the instant effects of this rage, and prolonged the truce till the feast of St. Hilary next ensuing. After this had been settled, Richard, turning to his father, who stood, with the king of France and the archbishop of Rheims, in the midst of a numerous circle of people, entreated that, at least, his right of inheriting the kingdom of England might be secured to him: and Henry giving him such an answer as was not satisfactory, he said, "I now see, that a report, which I thought "incredible, is likely to be true;" and then turning to Philip, did homage to that king for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and all the other fiefs which Henry held in France, yet with a reserve of the fealty he owed to his father. Philip promised, in return, to restore to him all the conquests, made in Berry, or elsewhere, by his forces, this year. Henry, confounded at what he saw and heard, broke off the conference, and sending Geoffry, his natural son, into Anjou, with instructions to take care of the fortresses in that province, went himself into Aquitaine, to provide for the speedy defence of that country.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ut supra.

Richard's words to his father alluded to a current report in France, that Henry's intention was, to crown John king of England. This was certainly false: but the arts of Henry's enemies, and particularly of Philip, had prevailed to infuse some jealousies of it into the mind of the duke; and his father's reluctance

reluctance to give him even the usual and proper security of his right of succession to the crown of that realm so much encreased his suspicion, that he became quite dependant on the king of France for support against this supposed danger, and as hostile to his father as his eldest brother had been in the height of rebellion. Perhaps the chief reason of Henry's obstinacy in this matter, was a desire, that his having rejected the peace offered to him by Philip might not be wholly imputed to his averseness from marrying Adelaide to Richard, which was indeed the true cause, and of such a nature as would bend to no considerations of interest or of safety.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden,
ut supra.
Neubrigensis,
l. iv. c. 24.
Gervase,
col. 1539.

The truce, which had been protracted till the feast of St. Hilary, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine, was no sooner expired, than incursions were made into Henry's French dominions by Philip and Richard. The latter prince had drawn with him into this rebellion all the army raised by him in the dutchy of Aquitaine for the service of his father. Ranulph de Fougères, an inveterate enemy of that king, and other nobles of Bretagne, were also induced to confederate against him. But, after the Easter holidays, the truce was renewed by the powerful mediation of a cardinal legate, who now arrived in France, and interposed all the weight of the papal authority to stop the effects of this discord, which obstructed the accomplishment of that pious enterprize, wherein all
the

the three princes had by their vows been engaged. During this period, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent by Henry to Richard, with a view to bring him into a separate treaty, and detach him from Philip; but he obstinately refused to hear that prelate. Nevertheless the two kings consented to stand to the judgement of the legate, and of the archbishops of Rheims, of Bourges, of Rouen, and of Canterbury, concerning all their disputes, under the penalty of immediate excommunication, which the legate was to inflict, in the name of the pope, on either of those monarchs, who should not obey the decree of the said arbitrators, *as an enemy to the cross of Christ, and to the whole Christian faith*. For this decision a conference was appointed to be held at La Ferté Bernard, a town in Maine, eight days after Whitsuntide; and a great assembly of nobles attending there on each prince, Philip declared in few words (as it was not his custom to use many) *that he was ready to restore all his conquests to Henry, if that king would restore to him his sister Adelais, whom he had now kept in close custody almost twenty years, from the time when her father had delivered her to him as a wife for his son Richard*. That prince also claimed her as promised to him in marriage; and he further required, that some security should be given for his right of succession to the kingdom of England, and that his brother John should go with him to the holy war, instead

Gervase, col.
1543, 1544.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii.
P. 541, 542.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

instead of his father ; without which condition, he said, he would not go. In these demands he was strongly abetted by Philip ; but Henry rejected them all ; and it seems that the prelates, to whose judgement both kings had bound themselves to submit, did not agree in their sentence : for, though peace was not made, no excommunication went forth against either of those princes. But the legate threatened Philip to lay all his dominions under an interdict, by virtue of his own power, if he did not compose all his differences with Henry. That monarch replied, *“ that he was not afraid of his sentence, and would have no regard to it, as it had no just foundation. For the see of Rome had no right to exercise any authority of this nature, against the realm of France, on account of its sovereign’s having taken up arms, for the honour of his crown, against his offending and rebellious vassals.”* Remarkable words ! to which he likewise added, *that the legate had smelt the king of England’s sterlings.* And thus the conference ended with much anger on all sides.

sterlings

If Philip had stopped at his first demand upon Henry, which was that his sister should be restored to him, or had only abetted Richard in demanding that princess, and security for his rightful succession in England, according to the custom of those times, it would have been very difficult for Henry to resist any of those propositions. For it must have seemed most unjust any longer to detain

Adelais

Adelais from her brother, or from her intended husband, when peace and a compleat restitution of the territories Henry had lost were offered for her freedom. And, whatever might be urged for leaving Henry a power to give or bequeath to John any feudal dominions, possess'd by him in France, nothing could be objected, now, when Richard's demand was limited to England, to the letting this prince have from the subjects thereof an acknowledgement of his claim to inherit that kingdom, if there was no intention (and one cannot suppose there was any) to defeat his succession. But it was not so clear, that Henry ought to consent to expose *both his sons* to the danger of the holy war, or, having taken the cross, withdraw himself from that service, which he had vowed to perform. This gave him a pretence to break off the treaty; which he was the less afraid to do, as the blame of the rupture, by the favour of the legate, which he had found means to gain, would be laid by the see of Rome, not on him, but on Philip. Yet in taking this party, he ran such risks, as he probably would have avoided, if reason, not passion, had determin'd his conduct. For he now could oppose to Richard and Philip only a part of that army, which he and Richard had oppos'd, the year before, to Philip. Ranulph de Glanville indeed had lately brought him over a body of Welshmen: but these only replaced others, whom he had dismissed from his service, about

BOOK V. the beginning of the last winter. He therefore sent that minister back to England, with orders to summon all his military tenants to come and serve him in France, without excusing any on account of inability to bear the charge. While these levies were making, the earldom of Maine was attacked by Philip and Richard. Henry could not keep the field against a much superior army; but he threw himself into Mans with the best of his forces. The situation of this town, on the confluence of two rivers, the Sarte and the Huines, made it very defensible; and he promised the citizens that he would defend it to the utmost extremity. Philip and Richard, having easily taken all the forts in the northern parts of Maine, made a feint of intending to go and besiege Tours, but, on a sudden, turned short, and came before Mans, where they were not expected. On the first appearance of them, the seneschal of Anjou set fire to the suburbs. Presently afterwards the wind changed, and becoming very violent, carried the flames to the town. Geoffry de Bruillon, at the head of some of Henry's forces, tried to break down a stone-bridge, laid over the Sarte; but, before he could effect it, he was attacked by the French. The fight here was maintained with great valour on both sides, till, Bruillon being wounded and taken prisoner, his men lost their courage, and fled into the city, which the enemy entered with them. The rage of the fire, which every moment encreased, notwithstanding

Brompton,
col. 1150.
Benedict.
Abbas,
Hoveden,
ut *suprà*.

A. D. 1189.
Gervase, col.
1544.

withstanding all the efforts of the citizens and the soldiers, occasioned such confusion and such terror among them, that Henry, seeing no means to stop the conflagration, and drive out the enemy, gathered about him those troops that still continued unbroken, and quitting the town, retired with seven hundred horse and a body of Welsh foot, towards the castle of Frenelles, situated to the south of the river Huines. Philip pursued him three miles, and killed many of his Welsh; but he and the horsemen were saved by going over a ford not well known to the French, who therefore stopped the pursuit, and returning to Mans, besieged the tower, which they took on the third day, and in it thirty knights of the king of England's household, who had thrown themselves into it with sixty men at arms.

During this interval, Henry got out of the reach of any instant danger. At the end of the first day, he came to Frenelles, full of shame and vexation, at having been forced to turn his back to his enemy, which he had never done before, and to abandon a city, wherein was interred the body of his father, which had been his own birth-place; which he had always loved more than any other in France, and which he had confidently assured the inhabitants he should be able to maintain, with the troops there assembled, against any assaults. His son, the lord-chancellor, who had distinguished himself in resisting the

BOOK V.
A. D. 1189.

Girald.
Cambr. de
vita Galf.
archiepiscopi
Ebor. pars ii.
c. 4. 5.
Benedict.
Abbas, t. ii. p.
543.

enemy and the flames at Mans, as long as they could be resisted, now offered to keep watch, fatigued and spent as he was, in an outpost near Frenelles, while his father slept there, lest the French should come up and surprize him in the night: but Henry would not suffer him to be his guard with so much danger to himself: on the contrary, he ordered him to come into the castle, and, sleeping himself in the cloaths which he had worn all day, layed him in his own bed; because, in the hurry of quitting Mans, his bed-cloaths had been lost with the rest of the baggage, and the castle afforded no more. At break of day the king, attended by a small train, went from Frenelles into Anjou, after having bound by an oath William de Mandeville, earl of Albemarle, and the seneschal of Normandy, in case of his decease, to deliver to Prince John all the fortresses of that dutchy. The chancellor had his orders to go with the main body of his forces to Alençon, and leaving most of them there, for the security of that province, rejoin him at Savigni, with a troop of a hundred chosen knights; the latter part of which commission was not executed by this lord without extreme danger; almost all the interjacent roads being guarded by the enemy's forces, before he could return from Normandy into Anjou. After their meeting, his father, committing to him the care of defending that earldom, went to Chinon in Touraine, and from thence to Saumur.

In

In the mean time, Philip and his confederate, Richard, had, with little opposition, taken many strong places, and advancing from Amboise, which was one of their conquests, posted themselves on the northern bank of the Loire, directly over against the city of Tours. On their approach, the stone bridge, built over that great river, had been broken down by the townsmen: but, it being observed, that the water, from the dryness of the season, was much lower than usual, Philip thought it might be practicable to ford it in some part, and founding it himself with his lance, from the back of his horse, found his conjecture confirmed: whereupon he marked the space, within which the shallows lay, by two erected spears, and commanded all his troops to pass over betwixt them, going foremost himself. The attempt proved successful: he did not lose a man; and his whole baggage, with his train of battering engines, was landed without the least mischance. The walls on that side being low, and not fortified with towers, (as the river was usually impassable by an army) while Philip was examining where he should place the engines he had brought, the French infantry in his service, impatient of delay, scaled the walls, and instantly entered the town. The lives and goods of the unresisting citizens were saved by the king; and the soldiers of the garrison, who had retired

A. D. 1189.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

Gul. Armoricus & Rigordus de gestis Phil. Aug. apud Duchesne.

BOOK V. precipitately into the castle, were made prisoners of war.

A. D. 1189.
V. authores
citatos ut
suprà.

Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

Thus, on the eve of St. John Baptist, by the fortunate accident of the Loire's being shrunk beneath its usual depth, did Philip take this strong city, which might otherwise have sustained a much longer siege, having in it, besides the citizens and the archers, eighty knights and a hundred of their squires or attendants, who were all men at arms. This event determined Henry to agree to a plan of pacification, which, the day before it happened, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, had brought to him at Saumur, rather as mediators between him and Philip, than as ministers of that king, who was more inclined, at this time, to continue a war which he made with great advantage, than to accept what they offered. Yet, out of respect to their persons, and to the vow he had taken, he did not refuse it, but allowed them to treat in his name; only giving them notice, that, while they were negotiating, he would prosecute with his utmost power and strength, his enterprize against Tours, the success of which proved decisive: for, after one or two conferences, Henry yielded to meet him at a place in Touraine, on the twenty-eighth of June, in order to ratify the peace offered to him. Unhappily, we have no record of the treaty, and some articles of it are differently given by contemporary authors. The best account

Diccon.

account I am able to collect from them is, that all which Henry had lost was restored to him, except Mans, Tours, and two castles, which were to be kept, as pledges for the execution thereof, in the custody of Philip and Richard, if Henry did not rather chuse to deliver to them the fortresses of Gisors, Pacey and Nonancourt, for the same purpose. Henry was to pay to Philip the sum of twenty thousand marks, which, Diceto says, was demanded by way of indemnification for the expences of repairing and fortifying Chateauroux, incurred by that king after he had possession of it: but I think it more likely, that it was a satisfaction for the general charges of the war. Oaths of fealty to Richard were to be taken by all the vassals of Henry, saving their faith to the latter. Diceto tells us, that Adelais was to be put into the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, or of the archbishop of Rouen, or of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Albemarle, and, after the return of Philip from the Holy Land, was to be delivered to him, in order to be married according to his advice. But the abbot of Peterborough and Roger de Hoveden say, that she was to be brought into France, and put into the custody of one of five persons whom Richard was to name, with an assurance, on the oaths of the freeholders of the country where she was to reside, that she should be immediately delivered to him, upon his return from Palestine. The former ac-

A. D. 1189.
Diceto, col.
644, 645.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.

count appears the most probable of the two, because it did not so directly give Henry's consent to her marriage with Richard. But, either way, the putting off the accomplishment of that marriage till one of those princes should come back from a distant and very dangerous war, was a point gained by Henry; as, during that term, some favourable accidents might intervene, to change the state of things, and free him from the difficulty he would have been under, if Philip had insisted, that her hand should be instantly given to the duke.

Some lesser matters, not worth particularising here, are mentioned by authors, as articles of this treaty. Diceto adds, that the faith of both monarchs was plighted to the archbishop of Rheims, before they departed from this interview, that they would meet again, next year, at Vezelay, about the middle of Lent, in order to perform the solemn vow they had made to go to the Holy War, *unless a change of their purpose by the consent of both nations, or some infirmity proved by the testimony of persons of good reputation, should be an impediment to it.* It is probable this reserve was desired by Henry, whose health had been weak for some time. At the conclusion, the homage, which that prince had renounced at the breaking out of the war, was renewed by him to Philip; and (as no exception is mentioned) he certainly did it in the same extent.

tent as before, for all his feudal territories ~~sub~~ ^{sub}ject to this king.

A. D. 1189.

Wilhelm.

Brito

Armoricus

Philippides,

l. ii. t. 134.

A contemporary writer says, that Philip, in this conference, reconciled Richard with Henry; but could not reconcile John, who was then making war, in another part of France, against his father. And almost all the historians of that age agree, that, after the taking of Mans, John did join in the league which Henry's enemies had concluded. This desertion must have been the sudden effect of some offers, made to him by his brother, in which he thought he should better find his account, than in any benefits which his father, who was not likely to live long, could effectually bestow. And I think it more probable, that intelligence sent to Henry of his having taken arms against him in Normandy informed that king of his treason, than that he learnt it, (as Hoveden says he did) by Philip's communicating to him a list of an association against him, at the head of which was Prince John. In whatever manner he knew it, the knowledge proved fatal. The agitation of his mind had lately been too great for a body grown infirm. He was now in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Those passions which have naturally the most hurtful effects on the human constitution, anger and grief, tore his heart. In his quarrel with Richard he had not been wholly blameless; and a sense of this made the evils, it had brought upon him, more painful. But the enormous

Girald.
Cambrenf.
de vitâ Galf.
archiepiscop.
Ebor. pars ii.
c. 5. in
Angliâ sacrâ.

enormous ingratitude, and horrible perfidy of his most beloved son, whose exaltation he was eagerly, and dangerously for himself, endeavouring to procure, gave him a much deeper wound, the anguish of which, concurring with the shame of receiving terms of peace, imposed by his enemies, and mortifying to him, though not very grievous, threw him into a fever. The day after the last conference he was carried in a litter to the castle of Chinon, and there took to his bed. His son, the chancellor, had obtained his leave to be absent, when the treaty was signed, that he might not be a witness to his humiliation; but, being informed of his illness, he hastened to Chinon, and finding him so oppressed with the violence of the fever, that he could not sit up in his bed, he raised his head by supporting it upon his own bosom. Henry fetched a deep sigh, and turning his languid eyes upon him said, "My dearest son, as you have, "in all changes of fortune, behaved yourself "most dutifully and affectionately to me, "doing all that the best of sons could do, so "will I, if the mercy of God shall permit "me to recover from this sickness, make such "returns to you, as the best of fathers can "make, and place you among the greatest "and most powerful subjects in all my dominions. But, if death shall prevent my fulfilling this intention, may God, to whom the recompence of all goodness belongs, reward you for me." "I have no wish (replied

“plied his son) but that you may recover and **BOOK V.**
 “may be happy:” after which words he rose **A. D. 1189.**
 up, and, unable to restrain his gushing tears, left the room. Yet, hearing soon that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the last duties to his father, who, roused from a kind of trance by the lamentations he uttered, opened his eyes, which had been for some time closed, and, knowing his son, made an effort, with a faint and almost extinguished voice, to express a desire, that he should obtain the bishoprick of Winchester, or rather the archbishoprick of York. Then taking from his finger a ring of great value, which he before had intended to present to his son-in-law, the king of Castile, he gave it to this lord with his last blessing, and commanded that another, which was kept in his treasury as his most precious jewel, should be also delivered to him. After this he sunk down, and in a short time expired.

THERE is no prince to whose character Comparison between King Henry the First and King Henry the Second.
 that of Henry the Second has a greater resemblance, or with whom, in all points, he can more fitly be compared, than his grandfather, Henry the First, king of England. They both had the glory of reforming and amending the state of their kingdom, and were equally careful, that, in all their dominions, the administration of justice to all orders of men should be strict and impartial. It is hard to say whether they merited greater praise for enacting good

good laws, or enforcing, by the vigilance and firmness of their government, a due obedience to them. Yet this difference must be noted, that in punishing all offences against his own person, Henry the First was implacably and inhumanly rigorous; but his grandson's severity was exercised only in behalf of his people and the publick weal of his realm. Among the noblest acts of clemency, that have ever embellished the history of mankind, are those done by this prince. Some of them indeed might be thought, in the judgement of cool reason, to have greatly exceeded the proper bounds of this virtue, if peculiar circumstances had not rendered the extension of it necessary for the future safety of those who had done him faithful service against his three sons, and their rebellious adherents. But how amiable was the man, who, when infinitely provoked, could sacrifice, to this distant and uncertain apprehension of danger to his friends, the present pleasure of taking that revenge on his enemies which publick justice required!

The same maxims of policy were adopted and pursued by both these kings. Henry the Second restored the charter of liberties, which his grandfather had given, as a declaration of rights, to the English and Normans. But in the grandson the act was more meritorious; as his title was less doubtful than Henry the First's, who may be said to have purchased his brother's crown of the nation, by the only bribe which a nation can honourably take, a restoration

restoration of freedom. What necessity appears to have drawn from that prince, this spontaneously gave when the throne was open to him without a competitor ; nor did he ever discover, by his subsequent conduct, any desire of retracting or impairing the boon so generously conferred, though means and opportunities, which were wanting to his ancestor, occurred to him many times, in the prosperous years of his reign, when fortune put his virtue to the hardest of all tests, by enabling him to enlarge or continue his power under its first limitations, according to his own choice.

The marriage of Henry the First with Edgar Atheling's niece was contracted on the best of political motives, a desire to cement the Normans and the English, the victorious and the vanquished, into one people ; which generous purpose was well pursued by his grandson, in taking away all distinctions, even of favour and trust, between the two nations. The merit of having done this, and having also extended the benignity of his government to Stephen's adherents, after these had concurred with the friends of his mother in placing the crown on his head, gives to Henry the Second a very eminent rank among those kings (few in every country) who have been benefactors, not to parties or factions, but to the whole community over which they reigned ; and who, instead of desiring to rule by dividing, have built their power on uniting what before was divided.

Both

Both these monarchs thought it necessary, for the safety of the crown, to raise up in its service *new men*, who, by the excellence of their talents, and the power given to them, might check the greatness of some of the ancient nobility, and be a counterpoise to it. These they placed very high, but kept themselves still above them, having regal minds, which disdained to be under subjection to a servant's dominion, and regal abilities, fit to guide the helm of the state. Henry the Second, indeed, from the warmth of his temper, observed less moderation in his favour to Becket, than the rules of policy, grounded on a jealous distrust of mankind, and on observing how rarely gratitude dwells with ambition, prescribe to kings; of which error he felt the bad effects. Yet it does not appear, that Becket ever was able, in the utmost height of his credit, to induce him to alter his political system, or to follow any evil counsels, or to remove from his confidence any other minister, who had faithfully served him.

Nor did he suffer the policy of raising men of low birth, and making them the chief instruments of his administration, to go so far as to give any cause to his nobles, through the whole course of his reign, to complain of an exclusion from his government or his counsels, or of such a depression as might justly offend that high spirit, which their rank, their wealth, their landed power, and the genius of the English constitution itself, had implanted and

and fixed in their minds. He never failed to assemble them, wheresoever he was in the kingdom, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; he consulted with them on all his greatest affairs; he conversed with them often, rather as a friend than a master; some of the highest (as the earls of Leicester and Arundel, at one period of time, and the earl of Essex, at another) he employed, with special trust, in the administration of his most important business. To the last, by the marriage of a ward of the crown in his custody, he gave a second great earldom, that of Albemarle. Other instances might be mentioned of his favour to the nobles, which shew that he thought the due support of their dignity essential to monarchy, and their lustre an addition to the splendor of the crown. Yet, at the same time, he made his power a shield to the lowest of his subjects against any oppression from them, and took all the care, the most active inspection could take, that by him *the law* should reign, with equal authority, over all. The feudal ideas supposed, that every lord was, by office, the patron of his vassals, and the king of every lord; but he extended that patronage to every member of the whole commonwealth, as their common lord and father. The same conduct had endeared Henry the First to the people: but he rather was respected than loved by the nobles: whereas his grandson possessed the hearts of both, except such hearts as were steeled against any proper sense of affection or gratitude by
the

the rage of ambition, or hated his person because they dreaded his justice.

Notwithstanding the superstition and bigotry of the times, these two princes considered their royal prerogatives in ecclesiastical matters, as a part of sovereignty from which their duty to their people, and therefore to God (for these duties can never stand in opposition to each other) would not suffer them to depart. Each was forced to contend with a primate of England raised by himself to that station, and with all the authority of the see of Rome, when that authority was become most imperious and most dreadful. Each exerted great spirit in this troublesome contest; but Henry the First concluded his quarrel with Anselm much more to his honour, than Henry the Second ended his with Becket; because the plan of the latter was interrupted and disturbed by the effects of his passions; whereas the former had no passions which prudence did not controul.

6/ If we compare them as soldiers, the battles of Tinchebraye and Brenneville seem to throw a greater brightness of military glory on the former of these princes, who won them in person against Robert duke of Normandy, and Louis le Gros, king of France, than accrues to the latter from any actions of valour he personally performed: but, if the same due to each be proportioned to the greatness of the advantages

vantages gained, Scotland and Ireland subjected to the sovereignty of England gave a higher reputation to Henry the Second, as a conqueror and a king, than his grandfather is entitled to, for having acquired by arms the feudal dominion of the dutchy of Normandy under homage to France. By the chance of war it fell out, that the duke of Normandy was a prisoner to one of these monarchs, and the king of Scotland to the other: both illustrious prizes! But the captive of Henry the First being his own elder brother, from whom, not contented with the cession of England, he had also torn that dutchy, and whom he was forced, if he would not restore those dominions, to confine for life in a prison, a secret sting of remorse must have disturbed all his joy in that event. On the contrary, no triumph was ever more just, no satisfaction more pure, than that of Henry the Second, arising from the captivity and humiliation of William the Lion, who had invaded and barbarously ravaged his kingdom, without a war declared, and in aid of his son's most impious rebellion! All the victories gained, by his generals or himself, over the chiefs of the rebels in England or abroad, and over their confederates, the earl of Flanders and the king of France, were rendered more happy to him, by his own internal sense of the goodness of his cause, and by an appearance, from circumstances of peculiar good fortune in most of

BOOK V. these events, that the hand of God had fought for him, and laid his enemies at his feet.

How it happened that Ireland was not left by this prince in so perfect a state of subjection, and such a well-ordered constitution of government, as his glory required, has been explained in this work. The defects were caused by his having, much against his inclinations, departed from thence too soon, after his first entry there; by a number of impediments, which kept him from returning to settle it better himself; and by the insuperable difficulty of finding a lieutenant, who would not exercise his power, in the administration of it, with a hand too weak, or too strong. The intervention of the pope was a temporary assistance, but a perpetual taint to the justice of his claim, which might have been better founded on any other pretence. Happily length of possession, and ensuing compacts, independent on that preposterous grant, have cured this original error in the title, which the kings of England have maintained, during six hundred years, to the sovereignty of that kingdom, first acquired and annexed to the English crown in this reign. The incorporating union between England and Scotland has likewise perfected the great work begun by Henry the Second, of making all Britain one empire, more honourably for the Scots, and more beneficially for the English, than if the feudal dominion, obtained by this king
over

over that part of the island, had constantly BOOK V.
been preserved.

The two princes, here compared, rather made a good use of fair and easy occasions of augmenting their greatness, which fortune presented to them, during the course of their reigns, than formed any vast projects, or exposed themselves to those perils which heroical spirits are desirous to encounter in the eager pursuit of renown. Nor did prosperity raise in the mind of either of them any insolence or presumption. But magnanimity in contending with difficulties and dangers, when they could not be avoided, appeared eminently in both.

It is hard to say, which was most unhappy as a father, Henry the First from having lost, by an unfortunatè shipwreck, an only son, whom he loved, and who had not failed in his duty; or Henry the Second from the miserable end of his criminal eldest son, imploring his pardon in all the agonies and the horrors of a death-bed repentance. But the new, successive treasons of his three other sons, Geoffrey, Richard, and John, made the latter a far more deplorable instance, even to the hour of his death, how ill the glitter of a crown and the pride of dominion compensate to princes the loss of domestic felicity, which is seldom their lot. Yet he had some consolation in the dutiful conduct of his natural

son by Rosamond Clifford, whose filial piety softened his dying pangs.

With equal talents from nature, both these kings were distinguished from any other in those times, by as much erudition as those times could give to them. Yet it did not infect them with the pedantry of the schools, or divert their thoughts from a due application to business, in which none of their ministers laboured with more diligence than they themselves. A contemporary writer informs us, that Henry the Second was well versed in the knowledge of History, and retaining, by the help of a prodigious memory, whatever he had learnt, could avail himself readily of the events of past times, no less than of his own experience in affairs, for the regulating of his conduct. This study must have been of great advantage to him. For the examples, which History sets before kings, are counsels to them wherein they cannot suspect any interested purpose, and which give them no offence, though they tell them many truths of the highest importance without reserve or disguise. Probably this was the principal branch of literature, to which Henry the First, as well as his grandson, applied his attention; but we may be sure that these princes did not study the logic or subtle theology of that age, which would only have perplexed and narrowed their understandings, and have done them more harm than a total want of all learning.

The

V. G. Cambrenf. Hibern. Expugn. l. i. c. 45.

The great sobriety, for which 'they both were remarkable, kept their reason always clear and their majesty unimpaired. But continence was a virtue neither of them could boast. Henry the Second took more care (especially after his marriage) to conceal his amours from the notice of the world, than Henry the First; and so far he did better: for decency in a king is respect to the publick. But they did not escape the jealous eyes of his queen; and her resentment at being neglected by a husband, she had loved too much not to hate when he no longer loved her, brought upon him a great war, for the mischiefs of which he was therefore, in some degree, responsible to his people. A prince ought to be very cautious, that no passion should disturb the peace of his family, because any disorder there may endanger, by its consequences, the peace of his kingdom.

Another vice in the character of the last of these princes, was a strong propensity to sudden and immoderate anger. His grandfather's mind was more calm; but he was capable of retaining a deep and silent remembrance of his having been offended, and working out his revenge by slow and secret methods: whereas it does not appear, that, when the first heat of rage was cooled, there ever remained in the bosom of Henry the Second a deliberate or malicious desire of vengeance for any offence against himself, though of the most grievous nature.

The former is accused by some writers in that age, of having been too parsimonious; and his policy may have joined with his natural disposition to make him incur this reproach, by warning him that a king, whose title is doubtful, and whose competitor is supported by potent foreign allies; may often want money, and must always be as sparing, as the necessity of his great affairs will permit, in taking it from his subjects. But Henry the Second united the two opposite virtues, frugality and generosity; so happily tempering the one by the other, as to have a constant provision against danger or misfortune in the wealth of the treasury, yet never to lose the advantages, or the honour, which a prince may derive from liberality well directed. To merit and want he gave much; but nothing to importunity, nothing to flattery, and therefore he was not impoverished by his bounty.

Upon the whole, there appears in Henry the First a temper of mind more exempt from disorderly passions; but in Henry the Second a more generous and more benignant nature. The former had fewer faults; the latter greater virtues, and particularly those which in a king will atone for many imperfections, a cordial love of his people, and an active benevolence towards all mankind.

END of the HISTORY of the LIFE OF KING
HENRY THE SECOND, and of the AGE IN
WHICH HE LIVED.

NOTES

N O T E S

ON THE

F I F T H B O O K

O F T H E

Life of King H E N R Y the Second.

P. 15. *O*N the decease of Duke Robert, in the year BOOK V.
one thousand and eighty-five, Roger, his
son by a daughter of the prince of Salerno, suc-
ceeded to him in all his Italian dominions; and the
count of Sicily, Robert's brother, reigned over that
island as an independent state.

By an appointment which Duke Robert had made in the year 1081, when he went to make war against the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, he gave to his son the sovereignty of Sicily, together with his Italian dominions; but that part of the grant did not take effect upon his death; the count of Sicily not receiving any investiture from his nephew, as he had done from his brother, nor paying him any homage for that island. It is doubtful in what manner this alteration was made, whether by Robert's last will, or by a voluntary cession of the sovereignty to the count, which his nephew might reasonably be induced to make, in order to gain his assistance, at this juncture of time, against the pretensions of Boamond to the dutchies

P. 30, 31. *His sister Basilea, who attended upon him at the time of his death, sent immediate notice of it as secretly as she could, to Raymond Fitzgerald, her husband, &c.*

Giraldus Cambrensis says, she made use of this expression in her letter about it. I notify to you, my dear, *that my great eye-tooth, which has long been aching, is now fallen*, and that he guessed she meant her father was dead. But it is more probable, as the earl had long been ill, that this was a cypher agreed upon between them, in case of his death while her husband was absent.

P. 32. *The cause of this was a fixed opinion in the Irish, that walled towns and forts were dangerous to their freedom, and that to them it would always be more advantageous to destroy than possess them.*

See Camden,
in Ireland.

This notion prevailed so long among them, that Con O'Neale, whom King Henry the Eighth created earl of Tirone, cursed all his posterity who should build any houses, saying, *that by building they would do but as the crow doth, make her nest, to be beaten out by the hawke.* The word *houses* here meant houses of brick or stone, such as the English built in Ireland, which were generally castles, or edifices in walled towns: whereas the Irish dwelt in huts, readily raised or pulled down, like the antient Britons and Germans.

P. 43, 44. *And the earl (of Flanders) who intended to set out for Palestine on the next Christmas-day, was stopt by a message, which the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely brought him from Henry, desiring him to put off his journey to the Holy*

Holy Land till the festival of the Easter ensuing, when that king proposed to accompany him thither, &c. BOOK V.

The abbot of Peterborough says, that the reason of Henry's desiring this delay, was an intimation given to him, that the intention of the earl in going to Jerusalem, was to get that realm for himself; (*ut ibidem in regem sublimaretur*) which he hoped to prevent by accompanying him thither, at the term proposed, or sending a force to defend the king, his relation. But it does not appear from any other evidence that this suspicion was well founded, and better reasons may be found for Henry's being desirous, that if he should go to the Holy War, this year, the earl might go with him.

Benedict.
Abbas, t. i. p.
143. ad ann.
1176.

P. 50. *To oppose Asedoddin the general of Noureddin, &c.*

This man (as the Arabian writers inform us) was born in Curdistan, a mountainous part of Assyria, from whence he went to serve at Bagdat under the emir of that city, and there acquired, by extraordinary actions of valour, the surname of *Schirgouch*, that is, *Lion of the Mountain*, corruptly written *Syracon* by the Latin authors of that age: but having the misfortune to kill a man in a quarrel, he fled from Bagdat to Mosul, and obtaining a command in the army of Omadeddin Zenghi, was, after the death of that sultan, advanced to the head of it by the son of Zenghi, Noureddin.

See Herbert,
Dictionnaire
Orientale,
Art. Adhed
Ledinellah.
Ainb Ben
Schaddi.
Abulfeda.
Vit. Saladini,
Autore Bohadino F.
Sjeddi, p. 1.

P. 59. *He certainly had in view some military operations in the kingdom of France: for, soon after the meeting of the ordinary council at Easter, a parliament was assembled, first at Ely, and then at Windsor, to the last of which places came all the earls and barons, and almost all the tenants of the king by military*

BOOK V.

military service, with their horses and arms, prepared to go wherever he should command them, *as I find it expressed by contemporary authors.*

Benedict/

Abbas, t. i. p.

170, 171.

The Abbot of Peterborough, in mentioning a former summons of this year, uses the following words; "Præterea, ibidem, per consilium familiarium suorum, mandavit omnibus comitibus, et baronibus, et militibus regni qui de eo in capite tenebant, quod, omni occasione remotâ, essent bene parati equis et armis apud Lundonias in Octavis Clausi Paschæ, secuturi eum inde in Normanniam, et moraturi secum-per unum annum in partibus transmarinis, ad custamentum eorum in servitio suo."

If this could be depended upon as true, it would prove that the king enjoyed at this time, or endeavoured to usurp, a very extraordinary prerogative, that of ordering all his barons and military tenants in chief to serve him abroad *one whole year at their own charge*. But the testimony of one monk is not sufficient to establish a fact of this nature, contrary to all the known rules of the English feudal law, which limited the service of military vassals *to forty days at their own expence*. Even Hoveden, who commonly transcribes this historian word for word in his Annals, does not copy him here; but quite omits the mention of so strange a summons, which one cannot suppose that either he, or the other writers of that age, would have taken no notice of, if it really had been sent. There is nothing incredible in the king's having notified to his vassals by baronial or knight's service, that he proposed to keep them a year, abroad, in his service: for they often stayed beyond the term of forty days; but then it was *at his cost*. What this historian adds may be also very true, "Et præcepit, ut unusquisque, statim visis literis suis, mandasset ei
" per

“per nuntium suum, et per literas suas, quomodo
 “venire poterit, et cum quot militibus tunc, *sine*
 “*magno gravamine.*” For though they were bound
 by their tenures to serve him abroad, on his sum-
 mons, with a certain number of their tenants who
 held of them by knights service, yet it was not
 agreeable to the lenity of his government, to exact
 it of them grievously, that is, beyond what their
 means could easily enable them to bear.

BOOK V.

P. 61, 62. *It chanced that Cardinal Vivian, Pope Alexander's legate into Scotland and Ireland, was lately arrived at Down-Patrick, &c.*

The abbot of Peterborough informs us, that the king and bishops of Scotland had secretly desired, that a legate might be sent to determine the controversy about the subjection of their church to the English. But Vivian, whom the pope had accordingly commissioned to go into Scotland, having landed in England without leave from Henry, that prince ordered the bishops of Winchester and Ely to stop him at Northampton, if he did not take an oath, that he would not do any thing in his legation which might be to the prejudice of the king or kingdom; and with this demand he complied. I would observe hereupon, that this was not a new or extraordinary caution, upon the present occasion, but an exercise of one of those antient prerogatives and rights of the crown, which Henry had always maintained. However, the oath imposed upon the legate had this good effect, that, if he really was empowered (which I think somewhat doubtful) to take cognizance of the controversy between the two churches without Henry's permission, it stopped him from proceeding; for nothing was done on that matter while he was in Scotland.

I would

BOOK V.

See the fourth
book, vol. v.
p. 151, and
note, p. 358.
See also Ap-
pendix, p.
380.

I would further remark, that, if any proof were necessary to shew, that the expression made use of by Peter de Blois, in his letter to Pope Alexander the Third, written in Henry's name, and of which I have taken particular notice in a former part of this volume, was unauthorized by that king, this would abundantly prove it. For a vassal of the see of Rome, acknowledging himself such, could not possibly have maintained a royal prerogative so inconsistent with that state. He could not have asked a legate sent from his lord, (as the Abbot of Peterborough says he did) *by whose leave he came into his realm?* nor would he have dared to forbid him to proceed on his journey through that realm into Scotland, unless he would give the security abovementioned: much less would the legate have submitted to give it, as he did, very quietly. This whole transaction and another, of a similar nature in the year 1178 undeniably indicate an entire independence of Henry on the pope, with respect to his regal dignities, and as great a jealousy in him, as in any of his predecessors, lest those dignities should be hurt by any ministers of the pope coming into his kingdom, or even passing through it, on any pretence whatsoever, without his leave.

T. i. ut supra.

See p. 97, 98,
of this vol.

P. 77. *They were also to ask the royal city of Bourges, with all its appurtenances, promised by Louis to Richard, duke of Aquitaine, as a portion for that king's other daughter, Adalais, whom the duke was to marry.*

I follow Mr. Carte in calling this lady *Adalais*, as the modern usage for *Adela*, which is the name given to her by contemporary authors. Some of that age call her also *Alesia* or *Alicia*, and others *Aelais*.

P. 78. *It is only said, that, the answer displeasing* BOOK V.
him greatly, he summoned thereupon all the bishops of
England, to meet the barons and military tenants in
chief, who were to attend him in arms at Win-
chester, on the day appointed, and, by their joint
advice, delayed, &c.

The words of Benedict abbot of Peterborough T. i. p. 226,
 are these, "Quod cum audisset, nec sibi in aliquo 227.

"placuisse, mandavit archiepiscopo Cantuariensi
 "et episcopis regni, quod in Octavis Sancti Johan-
 "nis Baptistæ essent ad eum apud Wintoniam; et
 "ita factum est. Venerunt enim illuc ad eum
 "comites et barones et milites Regni sui, per sum-
 "monitionem, paratis armis et equis secum trans-
 "fretare in Normanniam. Venitque illuc ad eum
 "Willelmus Rex Scotiæ. Congregatis itaque om-
 "nibus in urbe Wintoniæ Rex per concilium eorum
 "transfretationem suam distulit, &c."

From hence one might think that the bishops,
 earls, barons, and military tenants composed a par-
 liament.

But the same author describing the parliament T. i. p. 130.
 held at Northampton; which made laws and con-
 firmed the statutes of Clarendon, says, "Venit D.

"Rex usque Northamptone, et magnum ibi cele-
 "bravit concilium de statutis Regni sui, coram epif-
 "copis, et comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ," which
 description would make the members of that assem-
 bly only bishops, earls, and barons, if he did not
 afterwards add these words, "et per concilium comi- Ibidem.
 "tum, et baronum et militum, et hominum suorum
 "hanc subscriptam assisam fecit." Here to the spiri-
 tual and temporal barons are added, not only the
 military tenants, but also all the others who held in
 any manner of the king, "et hominum suorum." I
 would likewise observe, that, in the assembly at
 Winchester

BOOK V. Winchester beforementioned, those who held of the barons by military tenures must be understood as comprehended among the *milites regni*, because the barons never served without others under them, which sub-vassals composed the body of the army; and because the same author tells us, a little before, that almost the whole shipping of England and Normandy was gathered together at Portsmouth and Southampton, to carry these forces into France,

T. i. p. 212. *Ferè enim omnes naves portuum maris Angliæ et Normanniæ, per mandatum Regis, convenerunt apud Portesmutbam et Suthamptoniam ad milites istos transfretandos in Normanniam cum ipso rege.* Yet I think this assembly was not a full parliament, because nothing was there done to bind the whole nation or community of the kingdom. But in that of Northampton where laws were made and confirmed, it may be presumed all the orders wherein the legislative power resided were in some manner present. The passage abovesaid mentions indeed only tenants in chief of the king; but it can no more be proved from thence that no others were present, than from the passages which name only bishops, earls, and barons, as composing great councils, that the inferior tenants in chief of the king had no place therein. I have shewn in former notes what evidence we have of a right in *all the free-men* to concur in making laws and other acts which concerned the whole body of the people, which the reader will weigh against the inferences drawn from such descriptions as this of the parliament of Northampton, given by writers of those times, on whose accuracy it is plain one cannot rely.

Benedict. P. 92. *A contemporary writer says, "there was in Abbas, t. i. p. "all these three princes the same desire to excell in "arms,*

“arms, which art was taught by these pre-BOOK V.
“ludes.”

Another writer of that age (William of New-Neubrigens.
bury) tells us, that Richard revived the practice of ^{L. v. c. 4.} tournaments in his kingdom of England, after he was redeemed from his captivity, to put his English cavalry, by means of these exercises, on an equal foot with the French. The words are remarkable, and worth transcribing here: “*Confiderans igitur illustris Rex Ricardus Gallos in conflictibus tanto esse aciores quanto instructiores, sui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex bellorum solemnium præludio verorum addiscerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis militibus, tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris.*”

Tournaments therefore were not (as some modern writers suppose) romantic institutions of barbarous times; but were of singular use to instruct the nobility and gentry, who formed the cavalry of those days, in the dextrous management of their horses and arms. Indeed, all nations desirous to excel in war, have endeavoured to render their public diversions conducive to that purpose; a policy which seems to be too much forgotten at this time in this kingdom.

P. 120. *This established the fame of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and greatly increased the superstitious resort of pilgrims to his tomb.*

Some of the monks who wrote the history of ^{Benedict. Abbas, Brompton, ad ann. 1179.} those times, in order to secure more effectually to Becket the honour of this cure, tell us, “that he appeared to the king of France in his sleep, and promised him, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that if he would go to the tomb of *the martyr of Canterbury*, his son should recover his health: that the king was persuaded by his counsellors

BOOK V. "sellors to pay no regard to this dream; but,
 "twice the next night, Becket again appeared to
 "him, and the last time added threats, if he did
 "not speedily obey the orders of God. Where-
 "upon, looking more attentively at the Bearer of
 "this command, he saw that it was the blessed
 "martyr himself, and therefore went to the tomb."

Col. 604.

By such fables the whole fabrick of Saint-worship and idolatry in the church of Rome is supported. Diceto declares the purpose of the pilgrimage of Louis to have been, not that he might obtain the recovery of his son, but that, *by the merits and intercessions of Becket*, he might be rendered worthy to pass from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom; *ut in ejus meritis et intercessionibus à regno mutabili transire mereatur ad regnum sine fine mansurum*: which is directly putting Becket in the place of Christ. And Christ himself was desired, in one of the authorised Popish Liturgies, to save the souls of the supplicants, not by his own blood, but by Becket's:

Horæ beatissimæ Mariæ secundum usum Sarum, Parisiis, per Nicolaum Hocquenam, A. D. 1519. And Bishop Jewel's Defence of the Apology of the church of England, part ii. c. 18.

*Tu per Thomæ sanguinem
 quem pro te impendit,
 Fac nos, Christe, scandere
 quo Thomas ascendit.*

What the public opinion was of the greater benefit of oblations to this wonder-working saint, than of those made to Christ, appears from the leger books at Christ church in Canterbury, where in one year the offerings at the three principal altars stood thus,

At Christ's altar,	—	—	3	25	6
At Becker's,	—	—	832	12	3
At the Virgin's,	—	—	63	58	6

And

And the next year,

BOOK V.

At Christ's altar,	—	0	0	0
At Becket's,	— —	954	6	3
At the Virgin's,	— —	4	1	8

Indeed, the greatest wonder is, not that Christ should have nothing or next to nothing offered to him, when Becket had so much, but that the offerings to the Saint should exceed those of the Virgin in the proportion here stated.

Ibid. The young king Henry was present; and Philip being oppressed under the weight of his crown, from the tenderness of his age and a weakness occasioned by his late fit of sickness, Henry helped to sustain it.

Some historians say that he walked before Philip to the Cathedral Church of Rheims, carrying in his hand the crown of gold with which that prince was to be crowned. And Hoveden adds, that he did this in right of the duchy of Normandy. But it could only have been as heir to that duchy; for not he, but his father, was then in possession of it. And Diceto affirms that he came to this ceremony only as a brother in law to Philip. *Henricus Rex Regis Angliæ filius, et Philippi Regis Francorum sororius, regie coronationi Remis interfuit solius affinitatis incitatus et invitatus intuitu.* The same author adds, that to be the more ready in assisting Philip to bear the weight of the crown, he pulled off his upper robe; *rejeta clamide paratior ad obsequium.* But he labours to prove, that nothing done by him upon this occasion imported any subjection or inferiority of the English to the French crown; and, to shew how ancient the independence of the former was, quotes a letter from Charlemagne, in which he, as king of France, styles Offa, king of Mercia and

Benedict.

Abbas,

Brompton,

Hoveden, ad

ann. 1179.

Col. 608.

apud Be-em

Scriptores.

BOOK V. chief of the Saxon Heptarchy, *his dearest brother*. Nevertheless it is probable, that, although Henry might come to this coronation out of regard and affection to his brother in law, yet being there he performed the usual services of his charge as great seneschall of France, or such as belonged to those fiefs which he actually held, or expected to inherit. Nor did these in reality (however they might in appearance) impeach the independence of the crown of England. Yet, for fear of misconstructions, he would have acted more wisely, in avoiding, as his father did, to be present at this act.

P. 127, 128. *The chief cause of this thunderbolt's falling on that prince, was his having withdrawn his person and troops from the imperial army, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, when the emperor was sustaining a dangerous war against the people of Milan and other rebellious Lombards.*

Chron. Com.
Schaw, apud
Meibom. i. 1.
Hist. d'Alle-
magne, par le
P. Baure, ad
ann. 1175.

Some writers say, that the emperor, as soon as he was informed of the Duke of Saxony's having left the imperial camp, put himself at the head of a part of the garrison of the city of Pavia, where he then was, forced his way through the Lombards who were besieging it, and came up with the duke on the banks of the lake of Como; that he threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to return, but the duke did not even deign to raise him up; and that the empress, who was present, said to her husband, "Sir, rise, and remember what has now happened to you; and may God remember it too!"

But it is incredible that the empress should have accompanied her husband in this expedition, when he was to fight his way through the enemy; and extremely improbable that the emperor, whose spirit was equal to the majesty of his rank, should have

have thrown himself at the feet of one of his vassals, or that the duke, if he had, should not have raised him up. I make no doubt this tale was invented to justify the proscription of the duke, after he had been put under the ban of the empire.

P. 144. *He also gave to the duke a princely maintenance, and supported his whole family with vast expence to himself.*

The Norman Chronicle of Robert de Monte says, he gave them an allowance of three hundred and fifty pounds a day in Angevin money. But this makes so great a sum, according to the value of silver in those times, that I apprehend the account is not exact. (See Notes on the First Volume, p. 401—404.)

Yet that they were maintained in a very bountiful manner appears from an entry in the great Roll of the 31st year of H. II. which shews that the duke alone received for his expences from Winchester to London three pounds eighteen shillings in the money of those days, a sum nearly equivalent to what an allowance of sixty pounds sterling, for the charges of such a journey, would be in the present times.

See Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, C. X. p. 252.

P. 156. *It is no wonder, that, as these opinions were known, John of Salisbury, who thought very highly of the sanctity of a monastical life, and who hated this prelate for his dislike of Becket, should speak with such acrimony of him as he does in some of his letters, and charge him with the most atrocious crimes.*

In one which he wrote to the archbishop of Sens, he says that this prelate (the archbishop of York) had caused a man, named Walter, who

V. Epist. S. T. edit. Bruxelles, t. ii. l. 5.

when a boy, had been his catamite, and repenting of it afterwards complained of what he had suffered, to be deprived of his eyes, and, as he continued to upbraid him with his guilt, got him hanged by corrupting the secular judges. To support this, he (John of Salisbury) alledges the report of many persons of great rank and credit, made to him, "But perhaps (says he) it may be asked how it happened that this offender was not punished for so great and manifest a crime, especially as the blessed Eugenius the third then administered the pontificate; *And indeed I am confident that he would not have escaped, without the industry of the blessed Thomas* (meaning Thomas Becket); *who obtained, by the help of the venerable Hilary bishop of Chichester and John bishop of Winchester, that his purgation should be accepted by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, of pious memory.*"

It is strange that John of Salisbury should not have perceived, that *the industry of the blessed Thomas*, in saving one accused of such enormous wickedness, either shewed that he was perfectly convinced of his innocence, and that the bishops of Chichester and Winchester were so too, or that they were all as bad as he. I am unwilling to suppose the latter, and therefore ascribe this foul charge to the hatred and malice of John against the archbishop, rather than to any truth in the report. If the contrary be supposed (as some may think it should on the evidence of this letter) what a dreadful picture does it give of the clergy in those days! John of Salisbury adds, that the criminal prelate, going afterwards to Rome, where they were not well satisfied with the manner of his absolution in England, applied himself to Gregory cardinal of St. Angelo, a most infamous negotiator in such affairs,

affairs, and employing him to distribute many bribes in that court, by means of this corruption returned home justified. The reader may see an extract of so much of this epistle as relates to this matter in the appendix to this book.

P. 167. *He therefore assembled, as speedily as he could, an army of his vassals, with which he marched to aid Richard, and force all the three brothers to put an end to the horrors of so direful and so abominable a war.*

This and several other facts contradict an imputation thrown out against Henry, by one or two ancient writers and many of the moderns, as if he had sought, from motives of policy, to excite and foment discord, and civil war itself, among his sons, that they might not unite against him. It is likewise said that this conduct was advised by his son-in-law, the duke of Saxony: but it would have been most imprudent in a fugitive prince, thus to make himself an incendiary in the place of his refuge, and raise dissensions among the brothers of his wife, on whom his children might afterwards come to depend (as they actually did) for assistance: nor do any of the best contemporary writers ascribe to him this advice, or suppose that Henry acted on so detestable a plan.

P. 174, 175. *This was notified to young Henry by a letter from the primate, which is extant among those of Peter de Blois, whose pen he employed in this business.*

Mr. Hume cites this letter, as written in the Hist. of England, vol. i. year 1173, to prove that there were Brabanters then in the service of King Henry's enemies, as well as in his. But the letter itself plainly shews, that it could not have been written then, and must

p. 308.

BOOK V.

V. Petri Ble-
sentis epist.
47.

be dated at this time. For the bishops had not then been sureties for young Henry to the king, his father; of which guarantee a particular notice is taken in this letter. "*Ubi est intercessio illa, quæ nos et alios Episcopos patri tuo pro te fidejussionis vincula obligasti?*" and it would have been absurd for the writer of it to blame that prince for making himself a captain of Brabanters, when his father, in whose favour this letter was written, was at the head of an army of the same troops. Nor were these mercenaries then excommunicated, as they are here said to be. "*Et unde hoc tibi, quod Brabantionum factus es duætor, gentique excommunicatus et perditissimæ adhaesisti, ut perderes devotissimam tibi gentem.*" But, at this time, they did lie under the sentence of excommunication, past upon them, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, by the Lateran council; and Henry, the son, had an army of them in his pay, but Henry, the father, had none.

Ann. pars ii. P. 181. When this was delivered to that prince, he
ad ann. 1183. kissed it, and entreated the prelate to return to his father, and carry to him his last request, &c.

Hoveden adds, that he gave his cross to his favourite, William Marechal, that this lord might carry it to Jerusalem, "*Et tradidit Willielmo Mariscallo familiari suo crucem suam, Hierosolimam deferendam.*" But, though he had vowed to take the cross, it does not appear that he yet had taken it; and this circumstance is mentioned by no other writer of those times. Perhaps he may have usually worn in his bosom a cross of gold or silver, and have given that to William Marechal, to be carried to Jerusalem, in memory of the vow he did not live to accomplish.

P. 203. Presently after this election, information being BOOK V.
 given by one of the bishops, that Baldwin had held
 a private conference with them, concerning the re-
 formation of the state of the church, and had pro-
 mised to assist them in endeavouring to effect it, and
 likewise to repair its shattered liberties, Henry
 called them before him, &c.

The words of Gervase are, “ Voluntariè tamen
 “ victus Episcopus exposuit causam, et episcopo-
 “ rum revelavit secretum, quod ecclesiæ Dei, una
 “ cum archiepiscopo suo, constanter vellent libertates
 “ resarcire dissipatas.”

From hence it appears, as well as from other See p. 116. of
this vol.
 proofs I have mentioned before, that Henry, in
 conjunction with Baldwin's predecessor, had ac-
 tually enforced the Clarendon constitutions, which
 had been confirmed, in the year 1176, by the par-
 liament held at Northampton; but the strongest
 evidence of it is in the following passage, which I
 will transcribe from a book of Giraldus Cambren-
 sis de vitis sex Episcoporum coætaneorum; “ Item, In Angliâ
 “ cum circa idipsum temporis, in præsentia Ricardi Sacræ, par. 2.
 “ Wintoniensis Episcopi, de miraculis, quæ tunc 430.
 “ creberrimè fiebant, quidam colloquerentur, in-
 “ quit Episcopus, qui quasi de persecutoribus Mar-
 “ tyris unus extiterat, multum decepti fuimus de
 “ homine illo per habitum illum et fastum, quem
 “ exterius (ut videbatur) præferebat; interius au-
 “ tem, sicut ex post facto patuit et quotidie patet,
 “ longe dissimilis. Et cum dixisset quidam, mirum
 “ autem quod de articulis illis pro quibus martyr occu-
 “ buit, nullum ecclesiæ prorjus obtinuit, episcopus,
 “ qui plus sensatus erat quam literatus, plus in sæ-
 “ cularibus actibus astutus quam liberalibus arti-
 “ bus imbutus, sic respondit, Totum reverâ, quan-
 “ tum in ipso fuit, Martyr obtinuit; quia, si suc-
 B b 4 “ cessor

BOOK V.

“cessor ejus decimam partem bonitatis et probitatis ejus habuisset, nullum ecclesia de articulis illis amississet. Sed quod ille per strenuitatem eximiam perlaudabiliter acquisivit, iste per ignaviam, peccatis urgentibus totum amisit.”

P. 215. *The patriarch, who was present at this consultation, together with his colleague, the master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, desired that prince Richard, or Geoffrey Plantagenet, might, as the parliament judged it inexpedient, at this time, for king Henry, their father, to go to the Holy Land, be sent thither in his stead, &c.*

Giraldus Cambrensis adds, that the patriarch desired Prince John, at least, might be sent on this expedition, if neither of his brothers would go; and that John himself begged it, of his father, on his knees, but could not obtain his consent.

Hibern. Expugn. l. ii.

“Sed quoniam nullum aliud a rege responsum patriarcha elicere potuit, ad aliud denique se convertit, rogans ut vel unum filiorum suorum, et, si non alium, saltem natu minorem Joannem, eis in subsidium principem daret, ut regnum semen de Andegavensium stirpe descendens, possit eis vel ex hoc surculo, redivivo germine, suscitari. Ipse vero Johannes (quanquam in Hiberniam ei à patre datam jam tunc cum grandi expeditione mittendus foret) patrios ad pedes se provolvens, et ut Hierosolymam potius mitteretur laudabiliter (*ut fertur*) efflagians, non impetravit.”

The words *ut fertur* shew, that Giraldus did not hear this from the mouth of John himself, or from any certain information; and, as I do not find it mentioned by any one of the other contemporary writers, I think it deserves no regard; for the age of John at this time rendered him very unfit to be the

the defender of the Holy Land; and as Sibylla had a son by her first husband, and was married again, there was no probability of the want of a prince of the family of Anjou to inherit that kingdom, if it could be defended, which is the single reason given by Giraldus Cambrensis for this supposed request.

P. 220. *Before the end of that term, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, a conference being appointed, &c.*

Giraldus Cambrensis, whose chronology in this part of his history of the conquest of Ireland is very confused and uncertain, seems to place this event before Lacy's recall from that kingdom in the year 1181; but the Irish annals date it in the year 1182.

P. 229. *On the sixteenth of April, King Henry, accompanied by the patriarch of Jerusalem and many English lords, passed from Dover to Whitsand, and from thence into Normandy.*

Brompton in his Chronicle relates a supposed conversation between the king and the patriarch, in which the latter very grossly abuses the former, because he would not go in person to the Holy Land at that time. The whole is most improbable, and sets out with a circumstance unquestionably false, viz. that when this discourse passed, the king and the patriarch were taking leave of each other at an English sea-port; whereas it is affirmed by several of the best contemporary writers that they went over together into France, and did not part from each other till some time afterwards.

Diceto,
Benedict.
Abbas, &
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1185,
1186.

P. 236. *While these preparations were making, at the end of the month of April, the king went into England,*

land, and took with him his queen, whom soon afterwards he again confined in a prison, from which she was not delivered till after his death, when Richard, her son, set her free.

- This fact appears from the following passages in contemporary authors. Benedict abbot of Peterborough, in relating the transactions of the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, says, “Rex vero Angliæ, cupiens venire in Angliam, &c. venit usque Barbestuctum, et ibi navem ascendens, applicuit apud Southamptoniam quinto kalendas Maii. *Et adduxit secum Alienor Reginam.*” And in giving an account of what happened in England after Henry’s decease, he writes thus: “Interim Domina Alienor, mater prædicti Ducis Normanniæ, per mandatum illius de ultra mare, liberata est de carcere mariti sui, quo diu detinebatur, et Reginalem curiam circumducens, de civitate in civitatem, et de castello in castellum, sicut ei placuit, profecta est.”

Chron. col.
1547.

Brompton, who wrote a little later, but yet in the same age, transcribes these words, col. 1155.

Gervase of Canterbury likewise says, “Regina quoque Alienor, quæ defuncto rege sponso suo Henrico, ad imperium filii sui, Ducis Ricardi, à diutino carcere liberata est, ibidem, cum proceribus Angliæ et Randulfo de Glanvilla, filii sui ducis adventum expectabat.”

The words of Diceto, another historian of that age, are these: “*Alienor Regina, quæ per annos plurimos arctæ fuerat deputata custodiæ, statuendi quæ vellet in regno potestatem accepit a filio.*” And in another place speaking of that queen, he says, “A Francis propter consanguinitatem disjuncta fuit per divortium; ab Anglis verò per custodiam carceralem a thoro viri segregata fuit; *custodiam dico sedecim annos continuatam.*” In

reckoning

reckoning her imprisonment to have lasted sixteen years, this author forgets her having been set at liberty in the year 1184; but still he confirms the account of her being a prisoner when Richard came to the crown.

That she was confined soon after her arrival in England, with her husband, from France, in the year 1186, may be inferred from no mention being made of her, among those who were present at the king of Scotland's marriage in the palace of Woodstock, that year. But it is strange that no author should have taken any notice, in relating the events of the year 1186, of her having been again committed to prison, or of the cause assigned for it. The only reason I can guess for such an omission is, that, the cause being something which affected her honour, they who wrote under the reign of Richard and John, her sons, were afraid to declare it, and therefore only mentioned her having been freed by Richard, on his coming to the crown, or passed over the whole in silence. Yet one should think that her age in the year 1186, or for some time before, would have put her chastity out of the reach of temptation.

P. 240, 241. *It may be worth observation, that some Spanish astrologers, instructed by the Moors in that pretended science, as well as in most of their other real knowledge, &c.*

The Moors who made themselves masters of the greatest part of Spain were a people far more learned than the Goths they subdued, and continued to be so much longer than the times of which I write. What little tincture of mathematicks, astronomy, and physick, was then possess'd by the Spaniards, came to that nation by the intercourse they had with these neighbours in times of peace,

or

BOOK V. or by the instructions of captives they had taken in war. But in Africa, as well as in the east, astrology was engrafted on the science of astronomy: and the learned men, who continually resorted from thence to the Moorish courts in Spain, were professors of both. In imitation of these, the astronomers in the courts of the Christian Spanish kings took also upon them to foretell events by the stars. The Sicilians learned it of the African Saracens settled in their isle, and likewise of the Greeks. The English probably drew it from Henry's connexions with the kings of Spain and Sicily, and the frequent pilgrimages they made to the Holy Land in that age.

P. 247. *What provoked him to this deed we are not told.*

Since I wrote and printed this, I learn, that some Irish annals of Leinster, which Mr. O'Connor did not impart to me, either because he had not seen them, or because he did not think them of sufficient authority, impute the murder of Lacy to an enthusiastical fury, which had been excited in the mind of OMeey, by the Irish clergy in those parts, against this lord, on account of his having sacrilegiously erected this castle upon the ruins of one of their most antient monasteries, which their tradition supposed to have been the abode of St. Colum Kill, or Columba.

I am also told, that the cruel and treacherous act, ascribed by me to Dermod, in the 62d page of the fifth volume, on the faith of the Irish annals, as communicated to me by Mr. O'Connor, was done by the father of that king. However this may have been, that Dermod's government was tyrannical, and odious to his subjects, is certain.

P. 258. *During the course of the above-related events* BOOK V.
in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, the infant
king of Jerusalem, who had succeeded to Baldwin
surnamed the Leper, and was the fifth of that
name, died after a reign of no more than seven
months.

The death of this prince was suspected to have been caused by poison, given to him by the earl of Tripoli, (as some writers suppose) but (as others say) by his mother. One hardly needs a better proof of the innocence of both, than this uncertainty where to fix the charge. But the reputation of his mother must have been very bad, or the malignity of the faction against her extreme, to make the suspicion of her having been guilty of so horrid a crime find any degree of credit. I ascribe it to the latter rather than to the former, because it does not appear, from any well-attested accounts of her life, that she ever had done any act which could justify the belief of such an imputation, without the clearest proofs; and because, as the government was really in her hands during the infancy of her son, neither she, nor her husband, who shared the power with her, could be tempted to murder him whilst he continued a minor. To what an excess of absurdity the malice of a faction against persons in power will carry defamation, and how easy a reception it meets with in the minds of the vulgar, the history of all countries, in every age, has shewn!

P. 262, 263. *I therefore cannot doubt, that the real motive of his otherwise unaccountable conduct was a passionate love for this princess.*

Two historians, contemporary with Henry the Benedict.
 Second, affirm, that, after his death, Richard told Abbas, et
 her Hoveden, ad
ann. 1191.

BOOK V. her brother Philip, "he could not perform his
 "promise of marrying her, *because she had been de-*
 "flowered by his father, and had brought him a son;
 "which having been proved to that king by the asse-
 "verations of many persons, he declared Richard
 "free from his engagement to her." And in fact
 he did suffer him, notwithstanding that engage-
 ment, to marry another woman: for which ac-
 quiescence, at a time when his dispositions towards
 him were far from being kind, there unquestiona-
 bly must have been some very extraordinary cause.
 Yet the same historians tell us, that in the year 1192
 he offered her in marriage to Richard's brother
 earl John, and one of them (Hoveden) says, that
 in the following year *John swore to Philip that he*
would marry his sister. Had these princes believed
 that she had borne a child to Henry, or had been
 seduced by him, it would have been impossible for
 John to receive, or Philip to make such an offer:
 and therefore this would destroy the whole credit
 of the story, if it were not liable itself to great
 objections; but Rapin Thoyras observes, that the
 treaty made on this occasion between Philip and
 John, which is in Rymer's collection, says nothing of
 this marriage; nor is it probable that the latter,
 who was already married, should promise to wed
 another wife. This last objection indeed, would
 be without reply, if the lawfulness of John's mar-
 riage with the earl of Gloucester's daughter had
 been clear of all doubt; but the archbishop of Can-
 terbury had protested against it, on account of the
 consanguinity of the parties, and it was afterwards
 dissolved by the pope for that reason. Possibly
 therefore the facility of obtaining a divorce may
 have occurred at this time both to Philip and John,
 and was the secret foundation of the abovenen-
 tioned proposal, which, though agreed on between
 them,

Ann. Para
 posterior,
 f. 412. ad
 ann. 1193.

Rymer, Fœ-
 dera, t. i.
 p. 85.

them, could not decently be made an article of the BOOK V.
 treaty, till such divorce was obtained. But what-
 ever we may think of the circumstances related by
 the two historians before-cited, I see no cause to
 doubt of Henry's having been passionately in love
 with this princess, and am apt to believe that sus-
 picions conceived of her virtue, while she remained
 in his power, gave Richard a pretence for break-
 ing his contract with her, and hindered Philip from
 resenting such an affront to his sister, and to his
 own honour. These suspicions may have first been
 suggested by Eleanor, and some parts of Henry's
 conduct would add weight to the evidence which
 she and others instructed by her might bring, so as
 to make it desirable for both these kings to put an
 end to the match without an open quarrel.

P. 269. *So fondly did they believe the fabulous stories
 about the British Arthur, &c.*

Whoever considers the judicious observations of
 Milton, in his excellent Introduction to the History
 of Britain, will find good cause to doubt whether
 this hero ever had a real existence. It is pretended,
 indeed, that the controversy was decided in Henry
 the Second's reign, by his body being found be-
 tween two antient pyramids in the abbey of Glas-
 tonbury, on a search that was made for it, by
 orders of that king, who had heard from a Welsh
 bard, that, by digging there to the depth of fif-
 teen feet, they would find it. Giraldus Cambrensis
 affirms, *that he saw it himself*; but then he says
 that the bones were those of a giant; and in this
 description of them the other writers of that age,
 who mention this supposed discovery, concur.

Usher gives us a charter of King Henry the De Britanni-
 Second, in which that prince confirms to the abbey-carum Eccle-
 church of Glastonbury all privileges granted to it.fiarum Pri-
mordiis,
by c. vi.

BOOK V. by his royal predecessors, among whom he reckons *Arthur*, and says, that their several charters had been brought and read before him. (*Quorum privilegia et chartas feci diligenter inquiri et coram me legi.*) But the forging of charters in favour of abbeys and churches was a common practice in those days.

It seems to me that all the evidence of *Arthur's* existence, on which any stress can be laid, is in the songs of Welsh bards, who, it is supposed, had some foundation of truth for the many tales they recounted about him and his knights; as the old French *romancers* had for those they told about Charlemagne and his peers, though for the most part fabulous. But of the real existence and acts of that illustrious emperor we have many certain proofs in the writings of Eginhartus, one of his ministers, and other monuments and authentic records of those times in which he lived; all which is wanting with regard to the existence and acts of the supposed British prince. Yet the faith of the English, as well as of the Welsh, in *Arthur's* exploits was so great, during the age of which I write, that a sword, supposed to have been his, was presented, in the year 1191, to Tancred, king of Sicily, by Richard, king of England, as a valuable gift. The swords of heroes in those days had names given to them, and this was called *Caliburn*. How Richard got it, and whether it was said to have been found in the abbey of Glastonbury together with the body, or in some other place, we are not told; but I presume, when that monarch took it with him out of England, he intended to use it himself in the holy war against the infidels. Certain it is, he performed such marvellous feats of chivalry, in the course of that war, as almost equal those which the bards ascribe to *Arthur*.

Benedict.
Abbas, &
Hoveden, ad.
ann. 1191.

Arthur. I will mention one, attested by the re-BOOK V.
port of those enemies against whom he fought.

The Arabian writer of the Life of Saladin tells us, C. 165.

that he (Richard) at the head of only seventeen horsemen and a small body of foot, being surrounded by the sultan's army, they maintained their ground with such valour, that the Turks and Saracens, quite astonished and discouraged, could not be brought by their leader to renew the attack.

"Percelluntur et attoniti stupent nostri ad hanc
"ipsorum constantiam in medio nostro exercitu,
"ipsis in orbem circumfuso." He adds, that

Richard had, that day, rid along their whole line, and dared them all to a single combat; but not one among them would venture to come out against him. "Namque et relatum mihi, *Anglum* (Ri-

"cardum scilicet) *isto die, arrepta bastâ impetum in*
"*nostros dedisse, universam aciem ab extrema dextra*
"*ad extremam sinistram percurrendo, neque quemquam*
"*adversus ipsum processisse.* Iratus igitur ab oppug-
"natione se avertit sultanus, &c."

P. 274. *On the fourth of July, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, a battle was fought, of which the most circumstantial and authentic relation is given to us by one of the ministers of the sultan, who attended him to this war, and has written a history of his life and acts.*

The history which he wrote is an admirable performance, weighty in matter and sense, perspicuous in the style, but more especially to be valued on account of the knowledge the writer had of the facts which he has related. It is from him that we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negociations of king Richard the First in the course of the enterprize for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memo-

able war. I will give the reader here, in the Latin translation, what he says of the opinion conceived of that prince on his first arrival before the city of Ptolemais, p. 160.

“Rex Angliæ quoque nunc memorandus; præ-
 “*strenuus inter eos, magnique animi ac firmi pectoris,*
 “*quem insignes pugne nobilitarant; quippe intrepide*
 “*in bellis erat audaciæ. Hic rege Gallorum minor*
 “*apud eos censebatur ratione regni atque dignitatis,*
 “*sed tum divitiis florentior, tum bellicâ virtute multo*
 “*erat celebrior.*”

How well this opinion was answered by his actions, many passages in the same historian declare; and that writer appears to have thought no less highly of this prince's dexterity in negotiation, than he did of his valour; for, after much experience of both, he says, “Dei quidem singulari
 “indiguimus adiutorio ad pessimas pessimi hostis
 “strophas eludendas ac discutiendas, quo nec astu-
 “torem ullum, nec bellicosorem experti sumus.”

P. 280. But he speaks of the earl in a manner very hostile, and particularly inconsistent with the notion entertained by some ancient writers, of his having apostatised from the Christian to the Mahometan faith, or promised so to do.

The words are these, as I find them in the Latin translation. “At Comes Tripolitanus, ardentissi-
 “mus idem, ferocissimusque inter suos, cladis initia
 “prospiciens, quæ in religionis suæ homines esse
 “ingruitura, susque deque habens factorum pul-
 “cherrimam, quâ florebat, famam, semet ab acie
 “instituentâ ineundæ cohibuit, interque initia,
 “ante quam malum ingravesceret, fugæ se man-
 “davît, Tyrumque versus iter arripuit. Insecuto
 “eum Musulmanorum agmine, solus evasit, homi-
 “nisque fraudem ac malitiam non amplius metu-
 “endâ

“endā habuit Islamismus.” And afterwards, “Comes quidem Tripolitanus, fugā Tripolim per-
 “latus, pleuritide *divinitus immisā*, periit.” In a letter written to the pope, by the Genoese in the Holy Land, soon after the battle, mention is made of six knights of the king of Jerusalem’s household deserting to the enemy, changing their religion, and informing the sultan, before the defeat of the Christians, how bad a state they were in, from being ill posted, and what they proposed to do in order to extricate themselves from this danger: to which intelligence the writers of this letter suppose, the destruction of the army was owing.
 “Tunc sex ex militibus regis, scilicet Baldewinus ^{Benedict.}
 “de Fortuna, et Radulphus Buceus, et Laodicius Abbas, t. ii.
 “de Tabaria, cum aliis tribus sociis diabolico spi- P. 473, 474
 “ritu arrepti, ad Saladinum confugerunt, et sponse
 “Saraceni facti de omni esse et proposito atque
 “continentiis Christianorum eum instruxerunt.
 “Saladinus vero, quia de discrimine praelii anxius
 “dubitabat, resumpsit vires, et, cum tubis et multitudi-
 “tudine bellatorum infinitā, in Christianos, qui
 “propter loca saxosa et invia pugnare non poterant,
 “assultam fecerunt, et eos omni genere pugnandi
 “Saladinus impugnavit et interfecit.” But nothing is said of these traitors having acted in concert with the earl of Tripoli; nor is any charge of treason brought against *him*. And, from the account which is given, in this letter itself, of the circumstances of the army before the desertion of these six knights, it evidently appears, that, although they had not deserted, Saladin must have destroyed it by the superiority of his forces, and the measures he had taken.

P. 284. But, perceiving that despair inspired them with courage, and desiring to finish his conquest,

be allowed them to purchase their lives and liberty with ten bisants of gold for every man in the city, five for every woman, and one for every child; all who should not be able to pay those sums being devoted to bondage.

Vit. Saladini,
Auctore Bo-
hadino F.
Sjeddadi, c.
36.

The writer of Saladin's Life, often cited in this work, computes the amount of this capitation tax to be two hundred and twenty thousand pieces of gold, all which he says were given away by the sultan before he left Jerusalem, partly to his officers and the learned men in his court, and partly as a charitable assistance to those who had thus bought their freedom, and were to be conveyed from thence to Tyre. Many other instances of his immense liberality, of his humanity to his captives, of his courtesy to strangers, and of every royal virtue displayed in his actions, are recorded by that author. But he lightly passes over his treason and ingratitude towards his master Nouredin and all the family of that sultan, or excuses them by the service, his making himself so great, at the expence of those princes, did to the cause of religion. This author every where styles his war against the Christians in Syria and Palestine a *Holy War* (*bellum sacrum*); and his soldiers, who fell in it, *Martyrs*.

P. 285. *The only offence that was given, by that prince or his army, to any of the Christians, in the taking of Jerusalem, was, that a large gilded crucifix, erected on the top of the church of the hospital, was pulled down by the soldiers, dragged in the dirt, spit upon, and (as some writers say) whipt through all the streets of the city for two days together.*

L. i. c. 30.

Abulfeda tells us, that a picture of an Arab scourging Christ was soon afterwards made at Tyre, and sent from thence into Europe, to excite the Franks to undertake a general crusade, which it did

did with such force, that the very women left their houses, and engaged in that enterprize. He says that the Arab was supposed to be Mahomet; but I rather believe it represented the man who whipped the crucifix abovementioned through the streets of Jerusalem: and certainly such a picture must have produced great effects on the minds of persons accustomed to worship crucifixes; for even Protestants, who abhor that idolatrous veneration, could not see it without horror.

The Arabian writer of the Life of Saladin mentions another picture, which Conrade of Montferat had caused to be painted at Tyre, representing the Holy Sepulchre, and a Mahometan horseman trampling over it with the feet of his horse; that was staling upon it. "*Hoc super sepulchro equum delineaverat, ab equite Musulmanno infessum, qui monumentum Messie, intermingente equo, conculcabat. Hanc picturam trans mare produxit, in foris et conciliabulis, portantibus eam sacerdotibus, nudo capite, cilicia indutis, luctuosumque vix ingeminantibus. Jam vero pictura et imagines eorum corda vel maxime adficiunt; ea quippe sunt radix et fundamentum religionis eorum.*" A censure too well founded on the idolatry practised by most Christians in those days!

Vit. Salidini,
c. 80. p. 136.

P. 288. *Assaulted the city on the side of the continent, with thirteen catapults (the great artillery of those times) which threw heavy stones against the walls.*

The words of a letter to Henry, from one of the Knights Templars of Jerusalem, are, "*A festo vero S. Martini usque ad circumcisionem Domini obsedit Tyrum tredecim petrariis, die noctuque lapides in eam incessanter jactantibus.*"

Benedict.
Abbas, c. ii.
p. 509, 510.

In the third volume of this history, p. 51, I have said that the *petrariae* were the ancient *ballista*,

BOOK V. in which I was deceived by the authority of Pere Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Francoise, p. 62. Daniel; but I am now convinced that they were the *catapultæ* of the ancients; the *balistæ* having been used to throw darts, not stones. What the force of some of these *petrariæ* was, the following excerpt from a writer of the Holy war against Saladin, who himself was engaged in that expedition with King Richard the First, and whom I have quoted before, will shew:

Gul. de Vinsauf, Ricardi Regis Iter Hierosolymitanum, l. ii. c. 47. "Petrariarum hostilium, quarum fuit in civitate copia, una fuit incomparabilis, et magnitudine compactæ machinæ, et, pro voto torquentium, inæstimabilis molis lapides jaculando efficax. Hujus nihil potuit resistere vehementiæ, Incredibilis molis quippe lapides jaciebat, emissos etiam lapides procul impetus egit.

"Omnia comminuit jactus, quæcunque feriret.

"Lapides nihilominus, quoties nullo retardarentur obstaculo, unius pedis longitudine agebantur in terram cadentes. Nonnullas Petrariarum nostrarum percutiens in particulas dispersit, vel certe inutiles effecit. Machinas quoque alias plures vel ipsis dissolvit, vel particulam, quam attigerat, abscidit. Tanta nimirum erat vehementia jaculandi, et impetus tam pertinax, quod nihil tam solidum, vel ita fuit compactum, cuiuscunque materiæ vel substantiæ, quod posset incolumè tam intolerabili percussuræ sustinere injuriam."

From other passages in historians of that age it appears, that these engines had almost the effect of our cannon. See a description of them in Folard's Remarks on Polybius. The other machines that are mentioned in the account above cited were *Balistæ* for throwing darts, or battering rams, or moveable towers of wood.

P. 289. *Nor would she have admitted him to her court, and council, had there been the least suspicion of such a perfidy at that time.* BOOK V.

The first notice I find of the earl of Tripoli's being suspected of treason, is in a letter to the king of France, written in the year 1188, from some envoys he had sent to Constantinople. They say that Saladin told some persons there named, *that the earl of Tripoli had delivered to him the Land of Promise.* But no credit is due to the *bearsays* of these men; for they likewise report to their master, that Saladin had sent to Constantinople, with the emperor's consent, *his image, or idol, to be publicly worshiped there,* but, by the grace of God, the ship in which it was sent had been taken at sea, and carried to Tyre. “*Noveritis etiam quod dominus Saladinus, assensu Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, misit Constantinopolim Idolum suum, ut ibi publice adoretur: sed per gratiam Dei capitum est in mari a venientibus, et cum ipsa navi ductum est Tyrum.*”

Benedict. Abbas, ad ann. 1188. t. ii. p. 523.

P. 297. *Henry's mind, more enlightened, saw that men of all religions are entitled to all the rights of humanity, &c.*

By *rights of humanity* I mean such a treatment as the equity of our government, and the tolerating spirit of the protestant religion, give to the Jews at this time. This goes much beyond what the temper of the age, in which Henry the Second lived, suffered him to afford them; but he is to be praised for having acted towards them with all the lenity in his power. If he did not shew the same indulgence to the errors of those Germans whom the council of Oxford condemned for heresy in his reign, it was because he was taught to consider all

different from the Roman-catholick faith in any members of that church as far more criminal than the unbelief of the Jews.

P. 299. *The conquest made by that lord of the province of Ulster had just before been secured by the death of O Lacklin, prince or chieftain of Tyrone, who was killed by an English arrow, in a fight with some marauders from the county of Down.*

By this, and many other instances, in the course of these wars, it appears, that the English conquests in Ireland were principally owing to the use of the long bow in battle, which the Irish infantry wanted: And therefore Giraldus Cambrensis, in his chapter entitled, *Qualiter Hibernica gens sit expugnanda*, advises, that in all engagements with that people, archers should be intermingled with the heavy-armed troops. His words are these: "*In Hibernicis autem conflictibus et hoc summopere curandum, ut semper sagittarii militaribus turmis mixtim adjiciantur; quatenus et lapidum (quorum ictibus graves et armatos cominus appetere solent, et indemnes agilitatis beneficio, crebris accedere vicibus et abscedere) e diverso eminens sagittis injuria propulsetur.*"

It is strange that the Irish, who had much intercourse with the Welsh before Henry the Second's time, should not have learnt from that nation, who greatly excelled in archery, that arrows were better weapons to annoy an enemy with than stones, thrown by the hand without the help of slings, which, unless at a small distance, could have little or no effect! The chapter above-cited from Giraldus Cambrensis is very sensibly written, and contains good instructions to the English leaders in Ireland, on the most proper methods of carrying

on

on the war for reducing all that island to a perfect submission. BOOK V.

P. 302. *This contest was not brought to its final conclusion till after Henry's death.*

Hoveden gives us, in his Annals, two epistles, or bulls, from Pope Clement the Third and Pope Cælestine the Third, in which they declare the church of Scotland exempt from any dependance, except on the see of Rome alone. But I am satisfied that the former, which stands in the name of Clement, was never sent by that pontiff: for not only the substance of it is, word for word, the same with that of Cælestine, but the date is also the same, viz. Datum Lateranis tertio idus Martii, pontificatus nostri anno primo. And no mention is made of it by Benedictus Abbas, who gives us that of Cælestine, wherein nothing is said of any bull on that subject having been obtained to the same effect from his predecessor Clement. Nor is it probable that, before the sovereignty of England over the kingdom of Scotland had been given up by Richard, any pope would have ventured, without the king of England's consent or privity, to free the church of that kingdom from all dependance on the English; and we have no account in Hoveden, or any other writer, of Henry's having been informed of this judgment or decree of the Roman see on this matter, in which he and the archbishops of Canterbury and York had so important a concern. There are some articles which he, certainly, would have opposed, particularly this, "Prohibemus autem, ut controversiæ, quæ fuerint in regno illo de possessionibus ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum positorem judicium non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam ecclesiam fuerit appellatum." For these reasons I conclude, that
it

Benedict.

Abbas, t. i. p.

311.

Hoveden, ad

ann. 1177.

It was a mistake and inaccuracy in Hoveden, which made him ascribe the same bull to two different popes. It is observable, that in the enumeration of bishopricks in the kingdom of Scotland, that of Wittern (or *Candida Casa*) is omitted, though Cardinal Vivian, as legate from Alexander the Third, had, in the year 1177, suspended a bishop of that see, for not appearing before him, among the other Scotch prelates, at a council held in Scotland. The bishop's plea against him was, that the archbishop of York having been appointed by Alexander apostolical legate within his own province, the legatine power of that metropolitan extended over the see of Wittern, as subject to his province. And this subjection was now confirmed by the pope, who does not reckon that see among those of Scotland, which he decreed should be subject to no foreign jurisdiction but that of Rome.

B. 307. *The barrenness of Queen Jane, probably caused by her having been married too young, destroyed the hopes which her father had entertained, that these opulent countries would long continue subject to princes of his race.*

Notwithstanding the want of issue by this marriage, the king of Sicily retained such affection for his queen and his father-in-law, Henry, that, besides a vast dower which he had settled upon her, he bequeathed to that prince, by his last will and testament, the following legacies; a golden table twelve feet long and a foot and a half broad, with two golden tripods to support it; a tent of silk so large that two hundred knights might eat together therein; four and twenty cups of silver, and as many dishes or plates; sixty thousand measures of wheat, as many of barley, and as many of wine, and an hundred armed galleys compleatly fitted out,

and

Benedict.

Abbas, t. ii.

p. 612, 613.

Hoveden, ad

ann. 1190.

and victualled for two years. The provisions and galleys, I presume, were intended, by William, for the service of Henry in the crusade: but, although the latter died before the testator about three months, the will was not altered; and Richard, as heir to his father, received from Tancred, William's son, twenty thousand ounces of gold, in lieu of these bequests. BOOK V.

P. 309. *But it is worthy of note, that the German emperor styled him, in the superscription of his letter, his dearest brother, the illustrious king of England; but the Greek neither gave him the appellation of brother, nor the epithet illustrious in the superscription, nor any higher title in the body of his letter than your Nobility (vestra Nobilitas.)*

This Greek emperor treated Saladin, a greater potentate than himself, with as little respect as he did the king of England. We have a letter from him to that sultan, written soon after this time, in which he gives him only the title of *Eminence*, taking himself that of *Majesty* with many pompous attributes.

“Isaicus Rex, credens in Messiam Deum, a Deo ^{Vira Saladini,}
 “coronatus, victoriosus, semper Augustus, Imperator ^{auctore Bo-}
 “potentissimus, invictissimus, Autocrator Græcorum, ^{hadino}
 “Angelus, ad eminentem genere sultanum Ægyptic. ^{F. Sjedjadi,}
 “Saladinum, dilectionem et amicitiam. Pervenit
 “scriptio *Eminentie tuæ* missa ad *Majestatem meam.*”

The whole is in the same style, and concludes with these words, “Omnino liquet *Majestati meæ* aliud
 “nihil me ex amicitia tuâ fecisse lucri, quam inimi-
 “citiam totius Francisci generis.”

P. 313. *He likewise wrote to the king, and reminded him how expedient it was for his kingdom, that the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, should con-*
 7 tinue

tinue to be an intercessor for him, which he could not expect, if he did not maintain the privileges and dignities of the church of Canterbury.

L. ii. c. 7.

There is a remarkable passage in the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis, where that author gravely says, that, as the Irish and Welsh are observed, in this mortal life, to be prone to anger and revenge above all other nations, so *the saints* of those countries, in their life after death, seem to be, more than all others, of a revengeful temper :
"Sicut natio Hibernica, nec non et Cambrica, præ aliis gentibus præcipites in iram et ad vindictam in vitâ proni reperiuntur, sic et, in morte vitali, terrarum earundem Sancti præ aliis animi vindicis esse videntur."

Now, if Henry believed, with Giraldus Cambrensis, that saints in heaven retained the same temper and passions which prevailed in them while living, the pope's argument, in the letter, to which this note refers, must have greatly affected that king ; for he knew the partiality which the living Becket had shewn for *the privileges and dignities of the church of Canterbury*, and he also knew him to have been extremely *vindictive* : so that, in offending against these, he must have been apprehensive, not only of losing the intercession of the saint, but of incurring the terrible fury of his vengeance. He seems, however, to have risked it, upon this occasion, without much fear, thinking, perhaps, that *the glorious martyr's* soul had grown milder in heaven than it had been upon earth, and not quite so partial to the interest of the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury.

I cannot leave the subject of *Saint-worship* in the age of which I write, without taking notice of a singular kind of theft, committed by a monk in
the

the twenty-third year of this reign. A certain canon of the abbey of Bodmin in Cornwall stole from thence the body of St. Petroc, and fled with it to the abbey of St. Mevenni in Bretagne. As soon as the loss was discovered, the prior of Bodmin was deputed, to ask the assistance of King Henry the Second, for the recovery of the body. That prince sent an order to his chief justiciary in Bretagne, that he should cause it to be instantly restored. This officer went accordingly, with a powerful force of armed men (*cum armata manu et potenti*) to the abbey of St. Mevenni, and demanded the body. The monks refused, for some time, to deliver up their prize; but, he swearing, that, if they did not soon restore it, he would take it by violence, they surrendered it to the prior, *whole and without diminution*, as they declared upon oath. The prior carried it triumphantly in an ivory box to Winchester, where Henry saw, and *adored it*, (says Benedictus Abbas) and then *let him return in peace, with his saint, to the abbey of Bodmin*. I presume that St. Petroc, however unknown to us, was famous in Cornwall, for miracles worked by his reliques; and that in losing his body the monks of Bodmin apprehended their community would have suffered, not only by being deprived of his patronage, but also by the offerings made at his shrine being transferred to Mevenni. The monks of Canterbury feared a like injury to their convent, if archbishop Baldwin's design of building a church at Hackington near that city, and dedicating it to Becket, should be accomplished.

BOOK V.
Benedict.
Abbas, ann.
1177.

P. 322. *Geoffry de Lusignan saved his life by flying out of France, from whence he went by sea to Tripoli, where his brother Guy then resided.*

This

BOOK V.

This lord is mentioned, by the writer of the Life of Saladin, among those who were taken captives; together with King Guy at the battle of Tiberias; but it is certain, from the testimony of many other historians who lived in those days, that he was in Aquitaine when that battle was fought, and did not arrive in the East till the year 1188.

P. 324. *And in a very short time took the city of Cahors, the strong castle of Moissac, all the province of Quercy, and seventeen castles in the neighbourhood of Toulouse.*

It has been mentioned in a former part of this history, that the city of Cahors, and the province of Quercy, with several other parts of the earldom of Toulouse, had been conquered by Henry in the year 1159, and left in his possession by the treaty of peace between him and the earl concluded the next year; but, as it appears that these places were re-united to the earldom before this war, and now regained by Richard, it must be supposed that they had been restored to the earl, by the succeeding convention between Henry and him, in the year 1172, when he acknowledged himself a vassal to that king, as duke of Aquitaine, for his earldom.

P. 339. *Philip pursued him three miles, and killed many of his Welsh.*

See Powel's
Hist. of
Wales, p.
227, 228.

This being the last mention made of the Welsh in my account of these times, I will take notice here of a remarkable passage in Dr. Powel's History of Wales, concerning a voyage performed by one of their princes in the 16th year of the reign of King Henry the Second. The words are these:

“Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's sons,
“left the land in contention betwixt his brethren,
“and

“ and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by sea, *sailing west,*
 “ *and leaving the coast of Ireland so far to the north,*
 “ *that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many*
 “ *strange things.*”

BOOK VII

P. 206.

See also the
 Preface to
 Wynne's
 History of
 Wales.

In enquiring what credit is due to this story, it will be necessary to premise, that this part of the History published by Dr. Powel is not taken from the Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan, who (as Powel affirms) ended his collections in the year 1156, antecedent to the date of this supposed event; but is said by Humphry Lluyd, the translator of Caradoc, to have been compiled from collections made from time to time, and kept in the abbeys of Conway and Stratflur.

See Powel's
 Preface and
 Wynne's.

We are also told, that the best and fairest copy of these was written by Gutryn Owen in the days of Edward the Fourth, and translated into English by the Humphrey Lluyd before-mentioned, who flourished in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and continued the history to the death of Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffyth in the year 1282. But, this gentleman having been prevented by death from publishing his work, it was not sent to the press till the year 1584, when Dr. Powel published it, with many additions and interpolations of his own. The latter says in his preface, “ that he had conferred Lluyd's translation with the British book, whereof he had two antient copies, and *corrected* the same when there was cause so to do:” and adds, “ that, after the most part of the book was printed, he received another larger copy of the same translation, being *better corrected*, at the hands of Robert Glover, Somerset herald; a learned and studious gentleman in his profession; the which if he had had at the beginning, many things

BOOK V. "things had come forth in better plight than they
"now be."

It is therefore very doubtful whether the above-cited passage concerning Madoc's voyage gives the sense of the British book which Gutryn Owen had transcribed, as *translated* by Lluyd, or as *corrected* by Powel, and whether we can depend on its being agreeable to the original text. It may be suspected that Lluyd, living after the discovery of America by Columbus, may have dressed up some accounts of traditions about Madoc, which he found in Gutryn Owen, or other ancient Welsh writings, in such a manner as to make them convey an idea, that this prince, who perhaps was a bolder navigator than any of his countrymen in the age when he lived, had the honour of being the first discoverer of that country. Sir Philip Herbert, a writer of the same nation, who is zealous for the truth of this supposed discovery, (which he conceives would give our kings a title to the West Indies) adds to the authority of Gutryn (or Guten) Owen, that of Cynwrick ap Grono, another ancient Welsh bard, and also of Sir Meredith ap Rhees, who lived in the year 1477. The words of the former bard he does not quote, but those of the latter he does, and translates them into English. The poet, speaking in the person of his hero, says,

See his Typ-
vols.

" Madoc ap Owen was I call'd,
" Strong, tall, and comely, not enthrall'd
" To home-bred pleasure, but to fame :
" Thro' land and sea I fought the same."

This proves indeed that Madoc was famous in those days for some voyage he had made ; but, not marking the course, it is of no importance to the matter in question, which entirely depends on his
discovering

discovering land *to the south-west of Ireland.* Dr. BOOK V.
 Powel, having given the description above-cited,
viz. that he sailed west, and leaving the coast of Ire- P. 229.
land far north, came to a land unknown, adds the
 following note.

“ This Madoc, arriving in that western country,
 “ into which he came in the year 1170, left most
 “ of his people there; and returning back for more
 “ of his own nation, acquaintance, and friends,
 “ to inhabit that fair and large country, went thi-
 “ ther again with ten sails, *as I find it noted by*
 “ *Gutryn Owen.*”

And then he gives us some reasons why he takes
 this *land unknown* to have been some part of Mexico,
 rather than of Nova Hispania or Florida, as Lluyd
 had supposed. Without comparing the arguments
 for their different conjectures (as none of them
 seem to me to have much weight), I will only say
 that if Madoc did really discover any part of
 America, or any islands lying to the south-west of
 Ireland in the Atlantic ocean, without the help of
 the compass, at a time when navigation was ill un-
 derstood, and with mariners less expert than any
 other in Europe, he performed an achievement
 incomparably more extraordinary than that of Co-
 lumbus! But, besides the incredibility of the thing
 itself, another difficulty occurs; that is, to know
 how it happened that no English historian, con-
 temporary with him, has said a word of this sur-
 prizing event, which, on his return into Wales,
 and public report of *the many strange things he had*
seen, must have made a great noise among the
 English in those parts, and would have certainly
 reached the ears of Henry himself. Why is no
 notice taken of a fact so important to the honour
 of his country by Giraldus Cambrensis, who treats
 so largely of the state of Wales in his times? One

BOOK V. may also be in some doubt, what could have caused so entire a destruction of the colony planted by Madoc, and of all belonging to it, as that in no land, since discovered to the south-west of Ireland, any certain monument, vestige, or memory of it, has ever yet been found! But the first foundation of all enquiry about this adventure, which many good modern writers have inclined to believe, should be a faithful and well-attested translation of the words of Gutryn Owen, or Cynwrick ap Grono, relating thereto, if their writings still remain.

P. 339. *Full of shame and vexation, at having been forced to turn his back on his enemy, which he had never done before, &c.*

See p. 329.
of this vol.

I do not deem his retiring (however precipitately) into the castle of Gisors, when attacked by the French during a conference with their king, any exception to the fact, *that he never had turned his back on his enemy before his flight from Mans*; because the flying from a tumult suddenly raised, as that was, in the midst of a treaty of peace, could be attended with no shame; and the proposition here affirmed relates only to actions in fair and open war.

P. 345. *A contemporary writer says, that Philip, in this conference, reconciled Richard with Henry.*

This fact, if true, overturns what some historians have said of Henry's cursing his son Richard, as well as John, on his death-bed, and obstinately refusing to revoke his maledictions, though urged to it by the bishops who attended him in his last moments: nor does that story well agree with other circumstances of his death and behaviour in his

his sickness, which are mentioned in the most authentic relations. BOOK V.

P. 347. *And, knowing his son, made an effort, with a faint and almost extinguished voice, to express a desire, that he should obtain the bishopric of Winchester, or rather the archbishopric of York.*

It may be presumed, Henry thought, that, after he should be dead, this lord would have less to fear from any resentments, his brothers Richard and John might have conceived against him, if he was possessed of a high ecclesiastical dignity, than in any civil office; and therefore desired to bring him back into the church, which he had quitted before.

I think it very surprizing, that neither by his will, nor verbally on his death-bed, this king should have taken any notice of William, called afterwards Longsword, his other natural son by Rosamond Clifford, and that no writer of those times should have assigned any reason to account for this omission. Richard gave to that lord in marriage the daughter and heiress of William earl of Salisbury, who died in the year 1196, and with her that earldom. He afterwards became a great and famous man. See Dugdale's
Baronage,
SALISBURY.

*The END of the NOTES on the FIFTH BOOK of the
LIFE of KING HENRY the SECOND.*



A P P E N D I X

TO THE

F I F T H B O O K

OF THE

Life of King HENRY the Second.

N^o I.

BOOK V.

*From the Archives of Dublin.*This refers to
p. 34. of this
vol.

HENRICUS Rex Angliæ, Dux Norm. Acq.
& Comes Andeg. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis,
Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Jus-
ticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, &
omnibus fidelibus suis Francis & Anglicis & Hi-
bernensibus totius terre sue, salutem. Sciatis me
dedisse & concessisse & presenti charta confirmasse
hominibus meis de Bristow Civitatem meam de
Divelin ad inhabitandum. Quare volo & firmiter
precipio, ut ipsi eam inhabitent, & teneant illam
de me & de Heredibus meis bene & in pace, libere
& quiete, integre & plenarie & honorifice, cum
omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus quas
Homines de Bristow habent apud Bristow & per
totam terram meam. Testibus Will^o de Braosa.
Regin. de Curtenai, Hug. de Gundevilla, Will^o

D d 3

filio

BOOK V. filio Aldelmi, Ranulpho de Camvilla, Hug. de
 Creſſii, Regin° de Pavilla. *Apud Drvelin.*

This refers to
 p. 35. of this
 vol.

N° II.

From the MSS. of the late Biſhop Sterne.

A. 20 H. II.

HENRICUS Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ
 & Acquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ, Archi-
 episcopis, Episcopis, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vice-
 comitibus, & omnibus Hominibus terræ suæ, Sa-
 lutem. Sciatis me concessisse Burgensibus meis de
 Dublin, quod sint quieti de Tholoneo & Passagio, &
 Pontagio, & omni consuetudine per totam terram
 meam Angliæ, Normanniæ, Walliæ, & Hiberniæ,
 ubicunque venerint ipsi et res eorum. Quare volo
 & firmiter præcipio, quod habeant omnes liber-
 tates quietancias & liberas Consuetudines suas pleno
 & honorifice sicut mei liberi & fideles Homines.
 Et sint quieti de Tholoneo &c. Et prohibeo ne
 quis eos super his deturbet contra hanc Chartam
 meam, super decem librarum forisfacturam. Tes-
 tibus Ricardo de * Hum. Constabulario, Reginaldo
 de Courteney, Ricardo de Camvilla, Willielmo de
 Lannelleys. Apud Sanctum Laudinum,

* Humets.

This refers to
 p. 69. of this
 vo.

N° III.

From Ware, Antiq. Hib. p. 237, 238.

HENRICUS Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, &
 Dux Normanniæ & Aquitaniæ, & Comes
 Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus,
 Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, & omnibus mi-
 nistris

nistris & fidelibus suis, Francis, & Anglis, & Hi-
 berniensibus, Salutem. Sciatis me concessisse &
 præsentì chartâ meâ confirmâsse Roberto filio Ste-
 phani & Miloni de Cogan, custodiam civitatis meæ
 de Cork, cum Cantredo quod erat Hostmanorum
 ejusdem civitatis, quod retineo in manu mea.
 Ac * habenda & tenenda ea simul, quam diù placu-
 erit & benè mihi servient. Præterea dono iis & con-
 cedo, & præsentì charta confirmo, totum Regnum
 de Cork, exceptis dicta Civitate & Cantredo præno-
 minato, quæ in manu mea retineo, ipsis & hæredibus
 suis, ^b tenenda de me & Johanne filio meo & hæredi-^b tenendum.
 bus nostris, per rectas devisas, versus Cap. S. Cer-
 dani, super maritimâ, & versus Limericum & alias
 partes, & usque aquam proximam de Lismore,
 quæ fuit inter Lismore & Cork & descendit in
 mare, per servitium 60 Militum, inde mihi et
 Johanni filio meo & hæredibus nostris faciendum;
 à præfato Roberto & hæredibus suis servitium 30
 militum faciendum; & à præfato Milone & hæredi-
 bus suis, 30. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio
 quod prænominati Robertus & Milo custodiam su-
 prædictæ Civitatis & Cantredi prædicti habeant &
 teneant, sicut suprâ dictum est. Et quòd iidem &
 hæredes eorum post ipsos, totum regnum præ-
 dictum, exceptis suprâ dicta civitate & præfato can-
 tredo, quæ in manu mea retineo, habeant & te-
 neant, de me & Johanne filio meo, & hæredibus
 nostris, per rectas devisas, sicut suprâ determinatum
 est, benè & in pace, liberè & quietè, integrè, ple-
 nariè, & honorificè, in bosco & plano, in pratis &
 pascuis, in aquis & molendinis, in vivariis & stâg-
 nis & piscariis, in viis & semitis, & in omnibus
 aliis locis & aliis rebus ad illud pertinentibus, cum

* There seems to be something wrong here; but, not know-
 ing how to mend it, I give it as it stands in Ware.

BOOK V. omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus suis : Ita quod à prædicto flumine, quod fuit inter Lismore & Cork, remaneat in manu mea tota terra usque ad Waterford, cum ipsa Civitate de Lismore, ad custodiam de Waterford. Testibus Johanne Norwicensi, Adamo de Sancto Asapho, & Augustino Waterford, Episcopis ; Richardo de Lucy, Wilhelmo filio Aldelmi Dapifero, Hugone de Lacy, Hugone de Burid, Rogero filio Remsye, Mauritio de Pendergast, Roberto Dene, Roberto filio Eliodori, Galfrido Poer, Hervæo de Monte-Marisco. Apud Oxoniam.

Nº IV.

This refers to
p. 114. of
this vol.

Petrus Blesensis, Ep. lxxiii. p. 128,

Ad tres Episcopos Anglia.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, Venerabilibus & dilectis fratribus R. Vintoniensi, G. Eliensi, I. Norwicensi Episcopis, salutem & salubre consilium.

In Ecclesia Anglicana damnosa omnibus, & omnino damnanda consuetudo invaluit, quæ, nisi per industriam vestram fuerit omnino sublata de medio, in enormi totius Cleri dispendium vehementer excrescet. Si Judæus aut laicorum vilissimus occiditur, statim supplicio mortis addicitur intersector : si quis verò sacerdotem vel clericum minoris aut majoris status occiderit, Ecclesia sola excommunicatione contenta, aut, ut verius loquar, contempta, materialis opem gladii non requirit. Scitis equidem, quod à Domino dictum est Moyse, Maleficos non patieris vivere. Et, Apostolo teste,
Princeps

Princeps gladium habet ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem verò bonorum. Sed & Dominus dicit, Qui vos tangit, me tangit. Et per prophetam, Nolite, inquit, tangere Christos meos. Ubi igitur posset maleficium immanius & execrabilius inveniri, quàm grassari in Christos Domini, & in populum acquisitionis, libera impunitatis audacia, gladium exercere? Accepta mihi esset sententia excommunicationis in talibus, si timorem homicidis incuteret. Sed, culpis nostris exigentibus, gladius Petri rubigine obductus est; et quia non potest incidere, datus est in contemptum. Si capra, si ovicula furto sublata sit vel occisa, in hujus rei autorem, si lateat, sententia excommunicationis emititur: convictus verò aut confessus furcarum patibulo deputatur. Porro clerici vel Episcopi occisores Romam mittuntur, euntesque in deliciis, cum plenitudine Apostolicæ gratiæ, & majore delinquendi audacia revertuntur. *Tantum vindictam excessuum Dominus Rex sibi vindicat, sed nos eam nobis damnabiliter reservamus*, atque liberam præbentes impunitatis materiam in fauces nostras laicorum gladios provocamus. Ignominiosum est, quod pro capra vel ovicula gravior pro sacerdote occiso poena remissior irrogatur. *Sed bis & durioribus digni sumus, qui jurisdictionem alienam & nobis omnino indebitam ambitione temeraria usurpamus.* Nam & in corpore Decretorum, & in epistola ad Romanos hæc verba legisse meminimus, Sunt quædam enormia flagitia, quæ potius per mundi iudices, quam per rectores & iudices Ecclesiarum vindicantur: sicut est, cum quis interficit Pontificem Apostolicum, presbyterum, sive diaconum, hujus reos reges & principes mundi damnant. Omnis equidem justitia idèò exercetur, ut debita quiete gaudeat innocentia, & malignantium temeritas refrænctur. *Verum amen in hac jurisdictione male-*

dicta,

dicta, quam ambitiosè & superbe præsumimus, DEUM offendimus, & Dominum Regem, viamque in clericos malignandi tutissimam laicis aperimus. Nuper apud Vintoniam sacerdos literaturæ commendabilis & conversationis honestæ malitiosè occisus est à Guillelmo Frechet, & uxore ejus; nec illi maleficiū diffitentur: prompti sunt ergo curiam adire Romanam: nam confidit in ea cor viri sui, atque in specie & pulchritudine sua intendit prosperè procedere, & de lenocinio uxoris in via, præter absolutionis beneficium, fructus uberioris manipulos reportare. Vos ergò, dilectissimi fratres, huic publicæ pesti, dum in suo cursu est, maturiore consilio studeatis occurrere: nam si liberius aliquantulum & licentius evaserit, periculum quod inter pauperes nunc versatur nostris in proximo cervicibus imminebit. Ecclesia jurisdictionem suam prius exerceat; & si illa non sufficit, ejus imperfectum suppleat gladius sæcularis. Hujus rei auctoritas è Synodo Urbani Papæ, & decreto Gregorii, ex epistola Nicolai ad Episcopos Galliarum, ex Concilio etiam Martini Papæ, & ex Concilio Carthagenen. III. & ex multis Sanctorum Patrum institutionibus emanavit. Nec dicatur, quod aliquis puniatur propter hoc bis in idipsum: nec enim iteratum videtur, quod ab uno incipitur, & ab altero consummatur. Duo sunt gladii, qui mutuum à se mendicant auxilium, atque ad invicem sibi vires impartiuntur alternas, sacerdotium regibus & sacerdotibus regnum. Ideoque si ab altero suppletur alterius insufficientia, non videtur duplex contritio; aut puniatio combinata. Nam & illi, qui ad mortis patibulum sunt damnandi, juxta Moguntinense Concilium, antequam ad tormenta ducantur per cordis contritionem & poenitentiam spiritualiter puniuntur; nec duplicitatem contritionis inducit, sed quædam præparatio est ad mortem poenitentia & satisf.

& satisfactio quæ præcedit. *Reddentes igitur DEO* BOOK V.
quæ DEI sunt, & Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, juxta
petitionem Domini Regis, ei sanctorum vindictam ex-
cessuam relinquamus: reis autem in mortis articulo
constitutis, quia sententiam lati canonis incurre-
runt, si absolutionem postulaverint, & in hoc, &
in aliis, quantum possumus, sine scandalo & peri-
culo Ecclesiæ, humanitatis consilium misericorditer
impendamus. Publicè namque interest, ut ma-
teriali gladio cohibeantur qui nec Deum timent, nec
deferunt Ecclesiæ, nec censuram canonum reveren-
tur. Bene valete.

N^o V.

This refers to
 p. 143. of
 this vol.

Benedict. Abbas, t. i. p. 365—368. Hoveden, ad ann. 1181.

Affisa de Armis habend. in Anglia.

QUICUNQUE habet Feodum unius Militis, habeat Loricam & Cassidem, Clypeam & Lanceam: Et omnis Miles habeat tot Loricæ & Cassides, & Clypeos, & Lanceas, quot habuerit Feoda Militum in Dominico suo.

Quicunque Liber Laicus habuerit in Catallo, vel in Redditu, ad valentiam 16 Marcarum, habeat Loricam, & Cassidem, & Clypeum, & Lanceam.

Quicunque Liber Laicus habuerit in Catallo, vel Redditu, decem Marcas, habeat *Halbergellum* et *Capelet Ferri* et Lanceam.

Item, omnes Burghenses et tota Communia Liberorum Hominum habeant *Wambais* & *Capelet Ferri*, et Lanceam.

Unusquisque autem illorum juret, quod infra Festum Sancti Hilarii hæc arma habebit, et Domino

BOOK V. mino Regi Henrico, scilicet Filio Matildis Imperatricis, Fidem portabit; et hæc arma in suo Servizio tenebit secundum Præceptum suum, et ad Fidem Domini Regis & Regni sui. Et nullus, ex quo arma hæc habuerit, ea vendat, nec invadiet, nec præstet, nec aliquo alio modo à se alienet. Nec Dominus suus ea aliquo modo ab Homine suo alienet, nec per forisfactum, nec per donum, nec per vadium, nec aliquo alio modo.

Siquis hæc arma habens obierit, arma sua remaneant hæredi suo, Si vero hæres de tali ætate non sit quod armis uti possit, si opus fuerit, ille qui eum habebit in custodia habeat similiter custodiam armorum, et hominem inveniat, qui armis uti possit in Servizio Domini Regis, si opus fuerit, donec hæres de tali ætate sit, quod arma portare possit, et tunc ea habeat.

Quicumque vero Burgenſis plura arma habuerit quam eum habere oportuerit secundum hanc Assisam, ea vendat, vel det, vel sic à se alienet alicui homini, qui ea in Servizio Domini Regis Angliæ retineat. Et nullus eorum plura arma retineat quam eum secundum hanc Assisam habere oportuerit.

Item nullus Judæus Loricam vel Habergellum penes se retineat; sed ea vendat, vel det, vel alio modo à se removeat, ita quod remaneant in servizio Regis.

Item, nullus portet arma extra Angliam, nisi per præceptum Domini Regis; nec aliquis vendat arma alicui, qui ea portet ab Anglia.

* Item, Justitiæ faciant jurare per Legales Milites, vel per alios Liberos & Legales Homines de

* The copy given of this assise by Benedictus Abbas appearing to be very faulty, I have corrected it in several places from that given by Hoveden; but cannot, from either of them, make out

Hundredis, & de Visnetis, & de Burgis, quot viderint expedire, quod qui habeant valentiam Catalli secundum quod eum habere oportuerit, Loricam, & Galeam, & Lanceam, & Clypeum; secundum quod dictum est: scilicet, quod separatim nominabunt eos omnes de Hundredis suis, & de Visnetis, & de Burgis, qui habebunt sexdecim Marcas, vel in Catallo vel in Redditu: Similiter, & qui habebit decem Marcas. Et justitiæ postea omnes illos juratores & alios faciant inbreviari, qui quantum Catalli vel Redditus habuerint, & qui secundum Valentiam Catalli vel Redditus, quæ arma habere debuerit. Et postea coram eis, in communi audientia illorum, faciant legere hanc Assisam de armis habendis, & eos jurare, quod ea arma habebunt secundum Valentiam prædictam Catallorum vel Redditus; & ea tenebunt in servitio Domini Regis, secundum hanc prædictam Assisam, in præcepto & Fide Domini Regis Henrici filii Matildis Imperatricis, & Regni sui.

Si vero contigerit, quod aliquis illorum, qui habere debuerint hæc arma, non sit in Comitatu ad terminum, quando Justitiæ in Comitatu illo erunt, Justitiæ ponant ei terminum in alio Comitatu coram eis. Et si in nullo Comitatu, per quos ituræ sunt, ad eos venerit, et non fuerint in Terra ista, ponant ei terminum apud Westminster ad Octavas Sancti Michaelis; quod tunc sit ibi ad faciendum Sacramentum suum, sicut se & omnia sua diligit. Et ei præcipiatur, quod infra festum prædictum Sancti Hilarii habeat arma secundum quod ad eum pertinet habendum.

Item, Justitiæ faciant dici per omnes Comitatus, per quos ituræ sunt, quod qui hæc arma non ha-

a clear sense of the greater part of this clause; it being evident that some words are wanting, to complete and render it intelligible.

buerint,

BOOK V. buerint, secundum quod prædictum est, Dominus Rex capiet se ad eorum Membra; et nullo modo capiet ab eis Terram vel Catalla.

Item, nullus juret super Legales & Liberos Homines, qui non habeat sexdecim Marcas vel decem Marcas in Catallo.

Item, Justiciæ præcipiant per omnes Comitatus, per quos ituræ sunt, quod nullus, sicut se ipsum & omnia sua diligit, emat vel vendat aliquam Navem, ad ducendum ab Anglia; nec aliquis deferat vel deferri faciat Maireman extra Angliam. Et præcepit rex quod nullus reciperetur ad sacramentum armorum nisi liber homo.

This refers to
p. 156. of
this vol.

Nº VI.

*Extract of a Letter from John of Salisbury,
to the archbishop of Sens, published among
Becket's Epistles, tom. II. lib. v. epist. 91.*

SEDENT e regione blasphemi, qui sub nomine & honore Sacerdotali Sacerdotium persequuntur, principibus adulantes, persecutorum Ecclesiæ justificantes causam, exultantes in rebus pessimis, scilicet quod potestatibus adstiterunt adversus Dominum & adversus Christum ejus, cujus sanguis per eos effusus, militum ministerio, de terra clamat ad Dominum, magis quam sanguis Abel justî, quem frater ipsius interemit. Horum caput est ille Eboracensis, quem vidistis & audistis palam in curia Archiepiscopum persequentem, & qui indignus fuerat ore sacrilego, quo necem Martyris procuravit, ipsius proferre nomen. Eum plane mendosus & mendax jam inauditis coruscantem miraculis, adhuc, sicut ex literis ejus patet, nominat Pharaonem.

Pharaonem *. Sed non movemur, si flagitiosa bellua Martyrem non honorat, quæ, sicut opera manifesta convincunt, Deum utique non veretur. Dicitur tamen quod parat ad curiam proficisci, ut purget vitæ sordidæ notam, quasi homo qui justitiam fecerit, & non deliquerit iudicium Dei sui. Et, ne ipsius purgatio valeat impediri, procuravit ut nulli nostratum liceat transfretare, nisi Domini Regis impetrata licentia. Quod quidem obtineri non potest, nisi præstetur cautio, quod nihil queretur contra Martyris persecutores. Quid ergo facient miseri, zelantes legem, videntes justitiam opprimi, & sibi exitum denegari. Sed certe verbum Dei non est alligatum, & vobis libertas est, &

* This alludes to a letter from the archbishop of York to the bishop of Durham and all the chapter of York, in which he complained very grievously of having been attacked in the court of Rome by the agents of Becket with the most venomous calumnies and lies, to hinder the pope from taking off the sentence of suspension, which his Holiness had laid on him at their instigation. "Et quidem primo paraverant laqueum suspensionis, quo dominus Papa, plus eorum suggestiones quam juris ordinem secutus me innodaverat: deinde ne quoquo modo solvi posset, iniquitatem iniquitati addentes, hinc maximorum virorum libellos (sicut jam à pluribus retro annis instructi fuerant) conquirebant, inde peregrinorum et qui me nunquam viderant multitudinem subornabant, ut ea quæ non noverant mentientes, apud summum Pontificem et curiam Romanam quocunque modo famam onerarent. Absens eram, et qui ex parte mea in Curia pauci tantæ multitudini vix resistere poterant tam exquisitis pressis mendaciis; maxime cum quidam, solo habitu religiosi, videntes eos prosperare in iniquitatibus suis, cum illis currebant, et, neglecto Dei timore, ad everisionem dignitatis Ecclesiæ nostræ; una cum meretricibus suis, ne quis sexus persecutioni meæ deesset, multa dixerunt." He afterwards gives to their chief (whom John of Salisbury here declares to be Becket) the name of *Pharaob*; but ends with saying, that truth had dispelled all these lies, and procured him absolution. This letter was written a little before Becket's murder, and stands the 288th in the collection of John of Salisbury's letters, among which there are several not composed by him, but of which he had copies.

BOOK V. os patens ad Ecclesiam Romanam, & notissima veritas. Novistis enim Martyrem in vita sua, novistis causam ejus, novistis & istum Caipham temporis nostri, qui sub specie conquerentis persuadebat expedire, ut unus moreretur aut caperetur, ne tota gens periret. Eratis in Anglia cum patre vestro Domino Vintoniensi, quando idem nunc Caiphas, tunc Archi-diabolus, Walterum illum, cujus adolescentis admodum venusta facie inductus nefario concubitu nimis consueverat delectari, hispidum & procaciori lingua evomentem probra, quæ in contumeliam naturæ perpeffus fuerat, oculis orbari fecit. Et postmodum scelus arguentem idem Archi-diabolus, judicibus qui sæcularia negotia exercebant corruptis, adegit suspendio. Sic vir ille, non minus benignus quam pudicus, columbi sui acceptavit affectum. Sic veteris Amasii diu exhibitum obsequium remuneravit, ut primo stuprum inferret misero, deinde miseriori, quia de consensu tam sordidæ immunditiæ pœnitebat, capulationem & oculorum avulsionem infingeret; & tandem miserrimum, quia clamore, ut poterat, suas protestabatur angustias, suspensum in patibulo fecit jugulari. Hæc non fingimus, sed in vestram studemus revocare memoriam, si tamen excidere potuerunt, quæ velut ungue adamantino, multis & magnis, & plenis fide viris sæpius referentibus, in pectore nostro profundius resederunt. Nam usque in hodiernum diem in opprobrium Ecclesiæ, Deique contemptum, tristis hæc historia cantitatur. Sed fortasse quæret aliquis, quomodo tantum flagitium, & tam manifestum, impune pertulerit, præsertim beato Eugenio tunc summum administrante pontificatum. Et quidem, ut indubitanter credimus, nullo modo evasisset, nisi per beati Thomæ industriam, qui per venerabiles viros Hilarium Cicestrensem & Johannem Vintoniensem Episcopos effecit, ut ejus a bonæ

bonæ memoriæ Theobaldo Cantuariensi Archiepis-
 copo purgatio reciperetur. Deinde sentiens Eccle-
 siam Romanam indignatam esse super exhibitione
 purgationis factæ clam, utpote in capitulo Mo-
 nachorum, non in solemni conventu præstitæ, statui
 suo consulens, Romam profectus est ad illum famo-
 sissimum negotiatorem, quem semper odio habuit
 anima vestra, Gregorium Sancti Angeli Cardi-
 nalem. Et per illum, in multitudine sparforum in
 curia munerum, obtinuit, ut justificatus rediret in
 domum suam: incertum qua Dei dispensatione re-
 servatus ad majora flagitia perpetranda, sicut præ-
 sens testatur dies, quo sanguine innocentis purpur-
 ratur ecclesia, *qui sceleratum istum, eo quod concursalis
 ejus erat, fraterna charitate compatiens, et frugem
 vitæ melioris expectans, debitæ subtraxit ultioni.*

N° VII.

This refers to
 p. 207. of
 this vol.

From Benedict. Abbas, t. ii. p. 417, 418, 419,

EODEM anno, post obitum Tomæ filii Ber-
 nardi, qui post discessum Alani de Nevill,
 fuit Magister Forestarius & Justiciarius per totam
 Angliam, Dominus Rex divisit Forestas suas in
 Anglia in plures partes, et unicuique parti præfecit
 quatuor Justiciarios, scilicet duos Clericos et duos
 Milites. Et constituit in unaquaque parte duos
 Servientes de Domo et Familia ipsius, Custodes
 Venationis et Viridis super omnes Forestarios alios,
 tam Regis quam Baronum et Militum. Et postea
 fecit prædictos Justiciarios et Servientes jurare,
 tactis Sacro-sanctis Evangeliiis, quod subscriptas
 Assisas de Foresta servarent.

Affisa de Foresta.

“ Prima Affisa Henrici Regis. Primùm, defendit, quod nullus ei forisfaciat de Venatione sua; nec de Forestis ulla re; et ne confidant quod habeant Misericordiam de illis propter Cattalla sua, sicut usque huc. Nam si quis ei amodo foris-fecerit, et ratione convictus fuerit, plenam vult de eo Justitiam fieri, qualis fuit facta tempore Henrici, avi sui, ut amittat Oculos et Testiculos.

“ Item, defendit, quod nullus habeat Arcus, neque Canes, neque Leporarios, in Foresta sua, nisi habeat ipsum Regem ad Warantum; vel aliquem, qui warantizare possit.

“ Item, quod nullus vendat vel donet ad vastum vel destructionem Bosci sui, qui sit in Foresta Regis; sed bene concedit, quod Comites et Barones, et in Franco tenentes, capiant de Boscis eorum quod necesse fuerit sine Wasto; et hoc per Visum Forestarii Regis.

“ Item, præcepit Rex, quod sui Forestarii capiant curam de Forestariis Militum et aliorum qui habent Boscos in Forestis suis; et quod Bosci non destruantur. Nam sciant bene illi, quorum Bosci fuerint destructi, quod de ipsis, vel de illorum Terris, capietur Emendatio, et non de alio.

“ Item, quod Forestarii sui jurent, quod secundum omne posse suum tenebunt istam Affisam de Forestis suis; et quod non vexabunt Milites, neque alios probos Homines, de hoc quod Rex concedit eis de Forestis suis.”

N° VIII.

This refers to
p. 216. of
this vol.

From Rymer's Fœdera, p. 57.

*Hoc est Testamentum illustrissimi Regis Henrici Secundi
Angliæ.*

1. **H**ENRICUS, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ,
Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, Comes
Andegaviæ, Henrico Regi, et Ricardo, et Gal-
frido, et Johanni Filiis suis; Archiepiscopis, Epif-
copis, Abbatibus, Archidiaconis, Decanis, Comi-
tibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Mi-
nistris, et omnibus Hominibus et Fidelibus suis,
tam Clericis, quam Laicis, totius Terræ suæ citra
mare et ultra, salutem. Notum vobis facio quod
apud Waltham, præsentibus Episcopis,

R. Wintonensi, et

J. Norwicensi, et

G. Cancellario Filio meo, et

Magistro Waltero de Constantiis Archi-
diaconis Oxon. et

Godefrido de Luci, Archidiacono de
Derbi, et

Ranulfo de Glanvilla, et

Rogero Filio Reimfridi, et

Hugone de Morewic, et

Radulfo Filio Stephani Camerario, et

Willielmo Rufo,

feci divisam meam de quadam parte pecuniæ meæ
in hunc modum.

2. Domui Militiæ Templi Jerusalem 5000
Marcas Argenti; Domui Hospitali Jerusalem 5000
Marcas Argenti; et ad communem defensionem

E c 2

Terræ

BOOK V. Terræ Ierosolimitanæ 5000 Marcas Argenti, per manum Magistrorum Templi et Hospitalis Jerusalem, et visum eorundem habendas, præter pecuniam illam, quam prius prædictis domibus Templi et Hospitalis commiseram custodiendam; quam similiter dono ad defensionem ipsius Terræ Ierosolomitane, nisi eam in vita mea repetere voluero.

3. Et aliis domibus Religiosis totius Ierosolimæ et Leprosis, et Inclusis, et Heremitis ejusdem Terræ, 5000 Marcas Argenti, dividendas per manum Patriarchæ Jerusalem, et visum Episcoporum Terræ Ierosolimæ, et Magistrorum Templi et Hospitalis.

4. Domibus Religiosis Angliæ, Monachorum, Canonicorum, Sanctimonialium, et Leprosis, et Inclusis, et Heremitis ipsius Terræ, 5000 Marcas Argenti, dividendas per manum et visum

R. Archiepiscopi Cantuar. et

R. Winton. et

B. Wigorn. et

G. Elyen. et

J. Norwic. Episcoporum, et

Ranulf de Glanvilla Justiciarii Angliæ.

5. Domibus Religiosis Normanniæ, Monachorum, Canonicorum, Sanctimonialium, et Inclusis, et Heremitis ejusdem Terræ, 3000 Marcas Argenti, dividendas per manum et visum

Archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, et

Baiocensis, et

Abrincensis, et

Sagiensis, et

Ebroicensis Episcoporum.

6. Domibus Leproforum ipsius Terræ, 300 Marcas Argenti per manum et visum prædictorum dividendas.

7. Monialibus Moretoniæ 100 Marcas Argenti,

8. Monialibus de Viliers extra Falcisiam 100 ^{BOOK V.} Marcas Argenti.

9. Domibus Religiosis Terræ Comitis Andegaviæ Patris mei (exceptis Sanctimonialibus de ordine Fontis Ebraldi) mille Marcas Argenti, per manus Episcoporum Cenomanensis et Andegavensis dividendas; ipsis autem Sanctimonialibus Fontis Ebraldi, et Domibus ipsius ordinis, 2000 Marcas Argenti, dividendas per manum et visum Abbatissæ Fontis Ebraldi*:

10. Sanctimonialibus Sancti Sulpitii Britannicæ^{d, d} 100 Marcas Argenti. ^{*Britannicæ* here means Bretagne.}

11. Domui et toti ordini Grandis Montis 3000 Marcas Argenti.

12. Domui et toti Ordini de Chartusa, 2000 Marcas Argenti.

13. Domui Cistercii et omnibus Domibus ipsius Ordinis (exceptis Domibus ejusdem Ordinis quæ in Terra mea sunt, quibus divisam meam feci) 2000 Marcas Argenti, dividendas per visum et manum Abbatis Cistercii et Clarevallis.

14. Domui Cluniaci 1000 Marcas Argenti, præter hoc quod eidem Domui accommodavi, quod ei per dono, nisi in vita mea repetere voluero.

15. Domui Majoris Monasterii per dono 1000 Marcas Argenti quas ei commodavi, nisi eas in vita mea repetere voluero.

16. Sanctimonialibus de Maitilli * 100 Marcas Argenti. ^{*Marcelli.* See Gervase, col. 1460.}

17. Domui de Præmustrato^f & toti Ordini (exceptis Domibus ejusdem Ordinis quæ in Terra mea sunt) 200 Marcas Argenti. ^{*Præmonstrato.*}

18. Domui de Arroais et toti Ordini (exceptis Domibus ejusdem Ordinis Terræ meæ) 100 Marcas Argenti.

* This great legacy was given to this convent by Henry, because he intended to be buried in their church.

19. Ad maritandas pauperes et liberaſ Fœminas Angliæ quæ carēt auxilio, 300 Marcas Auri, dividendas per manum et viſum

R. Wintonienſis, et

B. Wigorn. et

G. Elyenſis, et

J. Norwicenſ. Episcoporum, et

Ranulfi de Glanvilla.

20. Ad maritandas pauperes et liberaſ Fœminas Normanniæ, quæ carent auxilio, 100 Marcas Auri, dividendas per manum et viſum

Rothomagenſis Archiepiscopi, et

Abrincenſis, et

Sagienſis, et

Ebroicenſis Episcoporum.

21. Ad maritandas pauperes et liberaſ Fœminas de Terra Comitſ Andegaviæ Patris mei 100 Marcas Auri per manum et viſum

Cenomanenſis et Andegavenſis

Episcoporum dividendas.

22. Hanc autem diviſam feci in prædicto loco, Anno incarnationis Domini MCLXXXII. Quam vobis, Filiis meis, per fidem quam mihi debetis, et ſacramentum quod mihi juraſtis, præcipio ut firmiter et inviolabiliter teneri faciatis, et quod ſuper eos, qui ipſam fecerint, manum non apponatis: et quicunque contra hoc venire præſumpſerit, indignationem et iram omnipotentis Dei, et maledictionem ipſius Dei et meam incurrat.

23. Vobis etiam Archiepiscopis et Episcopis mando, ut, per ſacramentum, quod mihi feciſtis, et fidem quam Deo et mihi debetis, in ſynodis veſtris, ſolempniter accenſis candelis, excommunicetis, et excommunicari faciatis, omnes illos qui hanc diviſam meam intringere præſumpſerint; et ſciatis quod dominus Papa hanc diviſam meam ſcripto et ſigillo

figillo suo confirmavit sub interminatione Anathematis. BOOK V.

N° IX.

This refers to
p. 309. of
this vol.

From Diceto Imag. Hist. p. 636, 637, 638.

VENERABILI et excellentissimo Principi Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto, Henricus eadem gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, in eo regnare per quem reges regnant. Quoniam imperatoriam Majestatem super his congratulari confidimus, quæ ad honorem Dei et exaltationem ecclesiæ suæ disponuntur, Excellentiæ vestræ notum facimus, nos et karissimum nobis in Christo amicum Philippum regem Francorum, et multos proceres utriusque regni, cum magna armorum multitudine, crucem ad servitium Dei assumpsisse, hoc præcipue intendentes, ut, Deo duce, terra sancta nostræ humilitatis adminiculo ab his oppressionibus relevetur, quibus hodie ad opprobrium Christiani nominis dinoscitur miserabiliter prægravari. Et quoniam in proposito habemus per terras imperii vestri transire, rogamus vos tanquam Christianissimum principem, quatenus securum transitum nobis, et iis qui nobiscum votum simile obtulerunt, in terris vestræ potestati subiectis præbeat, et mercatum victualium, locis competentibus, in occursum nostrum convenire faciatis, ad honorem Dei et vestrum et totius imperii securitatem. Quid autem super hoc vestræ placuerit Majestati*, per fidelem et familiarem

* The title *Your Majesty* (*Vestra Majestas*) was not usually given to any king in that age, but only to Emperors, and, in

BOOK V. clericum nostrum Ricardum Barre, Lexoviensem archidiaconum, quem ob hanc causam ad vestram destinavimus præsentiam, vestra nobis significare velit dignatio.

Fredericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator
semper Augustus *karissimo fratri Henrico illustri
regi Angliæ salutem et dilectionem.*

Noveris laudabile propositum tuum quod te suscepisse suggeris, ad servitium Dei faciendum, nobis plurimum complacere; unde ad illud servitium perficiendum tibi consilium et auxilium in Christi nomine promittimus, forumque victualium tibi et illis qui tecum ad Dei honorem militabunt prompta voluntate et prono desiderio, Deo cooperante, secundum petitionem tuam, providebimus, maxime autem in societate karissimi amici nostri Philippî regis Francorum, et ea durante gratia qua nos invicem intelligimus associatos.

Isaac,

Glorioso et potentissimo Principi ^b Cursac Angelo
Dei gratia Romanorum Imperatori semper
Augusto, a Deo coronato, Henricus eadem
gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ,
et Comes Andegaviæ, gaudium et gloriam cum salute sempiterna.

Quoniam imperii vestri potentiam amplissimam ad defensionem fidei catholicæ, et ad honorem Christiani nominis credimus et confidimus specialiter et laudabiliter invigilare, non immerito Gloriæ vestræ ea significanda duximus, quæ ad sacro-

some letters from ecclesiastics, to *their Emperor* the Pope. Geoffry bishop of Lincoln in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury says, "*Placuit Majestati Apostolica vestræ injungere sanctitati, ut me, &c.*" See Hoveden, ad ann. 1181. But by these letters we find that the titles of *Your Excellency* (*Excellentia vestra*) *Your Highness* (*Sublimitas vestra*) *Your Glory* (*Gloria vestra*) and *Your Eminence* (*Eminentia vestra*) were also given to Emperors together with that of *Your Majesty*.

sanctæ

sanctæ ecclesiæ honorem et exaltationem divina providentia, in regno nostro, et in regno karissimi nobis Philippi illustris regis Francorum, voluit operari. Imperatoriæ itaque notificamus Majestati, nos et prænominatum illustrem regem Francorum, procereque utriusque regni, cum innumera bellatorum multitudine, signaculum crucis suscepisse, et propositum firmasse, ut omnipotenti Deo serviemus ad confusionem inimicorum sanctæ crucis in sancta terra Jerusalem, ut nostræ humilitatis interventu terra illa, diminutâ Paganorum spurciciâ, pristinum decorum et debitum splendorem, Deo annuente, recipiat. Quod quoniam in omni nostro proposito, et maxime in famulatu Dei omnipotentis, Excellentiæ vestræ consilio præmuniri volumus et juvari, attentius exoramus quatenus oculos Majestatis vestræ ad nos et ad principes, et ad alios qui Deo duce nobiscum militabunt, reducat, nobisque Sublimitas vestra securum et quietum transitum, et victualium copiosum mercatum in terris et provinciis nobilissimo imperio subjacentibus, liberaliter et benigne provideat, ad honorem Dei omnipotentis, et gloriam vestri nominis, et ad imperii securitatem, quam de pacifico ingressu nostro et de transitu innocuo præstare parati sumus, prout Ricardus Barre Lexoviensis archidiaconus, clericus noster fidelis et familiaris, Eminentiae vestræ ex parte nostra plenius exponet.

Cursac Isaac (Angelus) Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, a Deo coronatus, Henrico eadem gratia regi Angliæ, Duci Normanniæ et Aquitaniae, et Comiti Andegaviæ, salutem et benevolentiam.

Rogavit *nobilitas tua*, ut nostri imperii consilium et auxilium habeat in servitio Dei omnipotentis contra Saracenos, et ut securum haberes transitum cum exercitu tuo, et sufficientem mercatum victualium,

BOOK V. lium, per loca imperii transiturus. Ad quod respondemus: Propositum tuum bene placitum est Deo et imperio nostro, quoniam laudabile est, et quod omnes Christiani laudare debent, et adjuvare. Ideoque prudentiæ tuæ et * probitati gratulantes, tibi et his qui in comitatu tuo venturi sunt securum transitum et copiosum concedimus mercatum, secundum formam literis tuis insertam, unde ad præsentiam tuam mittimus Constantinum et Nicolaum ministros sacri palatii, ut tecum tractent de securitate et forma pacis servandæ imperio, et, si eam præstiteris securitatis formam quam ipsi portant, centies milies bene veneris, sicut alter dominus et socius imperii, et tu cum toto comitatu tuo fideliter consilio imperii instructus eris qualiter insidias Turcorum debeas declinare, et quâ cautelâ eas possis invadere et expugnare †.

This refers to
p. 312. of
this vol.

Nº X.

From Gervase's Chronicle, col. 1503.

R. De Glanvilla Abbati de Bello Salutem. Præcipio tibi ex parte Domini Regis per fidem quam ei debes, et per Sacramentum quod ei fecisti, ut nullo modo procedas in causâ quæ vertitur inter monachos Cantuarienses et Dominum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, donec inde mecum locutus fueris. Teste Willielmo de Glanvillâ per præceptum Domini Regis de ultra mare. Et, omni dilatione et occasione remota, sis ad me apud Londoniam, proximo die Sabbati post festum Sanctæ Margaritæ

* *Probitas* here signifies Valour, as it commonly does in the Latin of that age, being used as synonymous to *Virtus*.

† It appears from the Life of Saladin, often quoted in this volume, that, when this letter was written, this emperor (Isaac Angelus) was in close confederacy with that prince.

Virginis,

Virginis, mecum inde locuturus. Teste eodem **BOOK V.**
apud Westmonasterium.

. Whether other writs of a like nature were sent to the abbots of Feverham and St. Augustin's, who were joined by the pope in commission with the abbot of Battel, or whether it was deemed sufficient to send this to him as the chief of the three, and, perhaps, the only one willing to exercise his authority, I do not find.

I have not swelled this Appendix with the proceedings in the cause between the kings of Castile and Navarre; because they are to be found, not only in Rymer, but likewise in almost all the histories of those times, and are of no such importance to the affairs of this kingdom, as to require the particular inspection of the reader into the original words of the record. Neither will I add here (as I once intended to do) any remarks on the general assemblies or councils of the French nation under the first and second races of their kings; because I find it fully done by that excellent writer, Dr. W. Robertson, in the first vol. of his History of the Emperor Charles V. (see Proofs and Illustrations, note xxxvii. from p. 355 to 365 inclusively.) Nor will I say more to prove, that the book ascribed to Glanville was not copied from the *Regiam Majestatem* of the Scotch; as that subject, since I published the former part of this work, has been learnedly and ably discussed by Sir David Dalrymple. (See an Examination of some of the arguments for the High Antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*.)

Benedict abbot of Peterborough, and, after him, Hoveden, mention a statute made abroad by King Henry the Second, in the year 1177, to this effect: "Ne quis pro debito Domini res hominis capere præsumat, nisi homo ejusdem debiti debitor aut plegius extiterat: sed redditus quos homines reddere debent Dominis suis, reddantur creditori Dominorum suorum, et non Dominis. Cæteræ vero res hominum propriæ sint in pace, neque eas pro Minorum debitis liceat cuique tradere." To which both writers add, "Hoc statutum et consuetudinem statuit Dominus Rex, et teneri præcepit in omnibus villis suis, et ubique in potestate suâ, scilicet in Normanniâ, et Aquitaniâ, et Andegaviâ, et Britanniâ, generale et ratum." Sir H. Spelman, in his *Codex Legum Veterum statutorum Regni Angliæ*, gives this statute with these words, "Hoc statutum, sigillo suo roboratum, rex præcepit per omnes ditiones suas *transmarinas* custodiri, Quære, an per *cismarinas*." And he had good cause for this doubt, as the words of both historians determine the extent and operation of the law to Henry's dominions beyond sea, *scilicet in Normanniâ, et Aquitaniâ, et Andegaviâ, et Britanniâ*. Here is no mention of England; for *Britannia* means Bretagne (or Britany) in the writers of that age.

Thus

BOOK V. Thus the abbot of Peterborough says a little before, "Et cum applicuisset (rex) misit Gaufridum filium suum in *Britanniam*, "ad debellandos inimicos suos *Britanniæ*." This passage therefore does not contain any proof (as some modern writers suppose) that the English were bound in that age by statutes made abroad, to which the parliament of England had not consented.

N° XI.

THAT the account of the times treated of in this work may be rendered more compleat, some events appertaining to natural history during that period, viz. from the death of Edward the Confessor to that of Henry the Second, are given here, in the words of the ancient English historians, by whom they are related.

Florentius Wigornienfis, ad ann. 1066.

Eodem anno cal. Maii stella Cometes, non solum in Angliâ, sed etiam, ut fertur, per totum mundum visa, per septem dies splendore nimio fulgebat.

Chronicon Johannis Brompton, ad ann. 1074.

His diebus, in confinio Normanniæ et Britanniae, mulier quædam erat quæ duo capita, quatuor manus, et omnia usque ad umbilicum habebat dupla, inferius vero simpla. Ridebat, comedebat, et loquebatur pars una; flebat, esuriebat, et tacebat pars altera. Postremo, unâ defunctâ, altera fere triennio (*triduo*) supervixit; donec præ mole ponderis, et putredine, et foetore mortui corporis, ipsa defecerit*.

* The Philosophical Transactions for the year 1757, vol. L. p. 311, et sequent. give an account of a conjunction, somewhat similar to this, of two Hungarian sisters. But those were only joined at the bottom of their backs, and had each of them two legs; whereas these, below the navel, made only one body, according to the writer here cited. The Hungarian sisters died

M. West-

M. Westmon. Florilegus says, "Anno gratiæ BOOK V.
1076 sexto kal. Aprilis terra tremuit, et factus est
generalis terræ motus in Angliâ, et gelu magnum,
glaciesque validissima a kal. Novembris usque ad
medium Aprilis.

Anno gratiæ 1181 factus est terræ motus, cum
terræ mugitu terribili in totâ Angliâ, contra ejus
solitum cursum naturæ.

Willielmi Malmesburiensis de Willielmo I^{mo}, l. iii.
ad ann. 1087, 1088.

Præterea anno antequam moreretur proximo,
mortalitas hominum et jumentorum, vis tempesta-
tum frequens, violentia fulgurum quantam nemo
viderat, nemo audierat. Illo quoque anno quo
obiit, promiscua febris plusquam dimidiam partem
plebis depasta, adeo ut plures incommoditas morbi
extingueret : deinde pro intemperie aëris fames sub-
sequuta vulgo irrepsit, ut quod febribus erat reli-
quum, ipsa corripere.

Ibidem de Willielmo II^{do}, ann. D. 1089.

Secundo anno regni ejus terræ motus ingens
totam Angliam exterruit; tertio idus Augusti,
horrendo miraculo, ut ædificia omnia eminus resi-
lirent, et mox pristino more residerent. Secuta est
inopia omnium fructuum, tarda maturitas frugum,
ut vix ad festum Sancti Andreæ messes reconde-
rentur.

in their two and twentieth year, at the same instant of time.
How long *these* lived, we are not told; but it is said that one of
them outlived the other *three days* (for I take the word *triennio* to
be an error of the press, or of the MSS. and the true reading to
be *triduo*.) The circumstance of the one eating, and lau, hing,
and speaking, while the other wept, or was silent, or fasted,
(which shews two distinct wills and powers of action) is the
same in both relations.

The

The same earthquake is mentioned by Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, in these words, "Eodem anno, tertio idus Augusti, Sabbato, circa horam diei tertiam, terræ motus permagnus exitit per Angliam."

Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia, col. 217. ad ann. 1091.

XVI kalend. Novembris feria vi turbo veniens ab Affrico pervalidus Londoniæ plusquam sexcentas domos et ecclesias quamplures concutiendo diverberavit. In ecclesiam quoque Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ dicitur *ad arcum*, irruens, in eâ duos homines occidit, et tectum cum tignis in altum levans, et huc illucque diu per aëra ferens, tandem sex de tignis, eo ordine quo tecto prius infixæ erant, tam altè in terram defixit, ut de quibusdam eorum septima, de quibusdam vero octava pars appareret. Erant enim 27 vel 28 pedum longitudinis.

The account given of the violence of this storm or hurricane by W. of Malmesbury is much the same. Instead of *diverberavit* he uses the word *effregit*, but afterwards adds, *Cumulabantur ecclesiæ cum domibus, maceriæ cum parietibus*, which seems to imply that many houses and churches were, not only shattered, but blown down. He only differs from the other historian above-cited in mentioning four beams instead of six, as driven into the earth from the roof of the church of St. Mary le Bow, making them but six and twenty feet long, instead of twenty seven or twenty eight. His words are these: "*Quatuor enim tigna, sex et viginti pedes longa, tantâ vi in humum impacta sunt, ut vix quatuor pedes extarent. Notabile visu quomodo strata publica duretiem perruperint, eo ibi ordine posita, quo in tecto manu artificis fuerant locata, quoad, ob impedimenta transeuntium, ad planitiem terræ sunt desecta, quod aliter erui nequirent.*" The
astonish-

astonishing part of both these relations is the mighty force of the wind in driving beams so far into the earth, which, however, is not incredible. But what is said by both authors of the order in which they were placed is to be considered as a mere addition of fancy, to make the wonder seem greater. BOOK V.

Willielmi Malmesburienfis de Willielmo Secundo,
l. iii. ad ann. 1097.

Kalendas Octobris apparuit Cometes, quindecim diebus, majorem crinem emittens ad Orientem, minorem versus Euro-auftrum.

Sim. Dunelm. Hist. ad ann. 1099.

Tertio non. Novembris mare littus egreditur, et villas et homines quamplures, boves et oves innumeras demersit.

Florentius Wigornienfis ad ann. 1106.

In primâ autem septimanâ Quadragesimæ, sextâ feriâ, 14 kal. Martii, in vespera, ostensa est quædam insolita stella, et per 25 dies, eodem modo eâdemque horâ, visa est lucere inter Auftrum et Occidentem. Parva enim visa est et obscura; sed splendor qui de eâ exivit valde erat clarus, et, quasi ingens trabes, de orientali et aquilonari parte, claritas ingessit se in eandem stellam.

Ibidem, ad ann. 1109.

Stella Cometa mense Decemb. visa est circa Lactæum Circulum, crinem in Australem cœli plagam dirigens.

H. Huntindonenfis Hist. ad ann. 1109.

Hoc in anno apparuit Cometa quidam more insolito. Cum namque ab Oriente insurgens in firmamentum ascendisset, regredi videbatur.

Sim. Dunelm. ad ann. 1110.

BOOK V.

*Shrewsbury.

Terræ motus * Scrobbesbiriz factus est maximus. Fluvius qui Trenta dicitur, apud Nottingham, à mane usque ad horam diei tertiam, spatio unius milliarii exsiccatus est, ita ut homines sicco vestigio per alveum incederunt. Stella Cometa sexto idus Julii apparuit, et per tres hebdomadas lucere est visa.

Ibidem, ad ann. 1114.

Fluvius Medeweage vocatus, per nonnulla millia-
ria, 6 idus Octobris, ita à se defecit, ut in medio
alveo sui etiam parvissimæ naves ob penuriam aquæ
elabi aliquatenus minimè possent. Thamesis nihilo-
minus eodem illo die defectui paruit. Nam inter
pontem et regiam turrim, sub ponte etiam, in
tantum fluminis ipsius aqua diminuta est, ut non so-
lum equi, sed et innumera hominum et puerorum
multitudo illud pedibus transvaderet, aquâ vix genua
eorum attingente. Duravit hic aquæ defectus à
medio noctis præcedentis usque in profundas
tenebras noctis subsequentis. Similem quoque
† Yarmouth. aquarum defectum ipso die apud † Gernemutham,
et in aliis locis per Angliam certo relatu contigisse
didicimus.

Ibidem, ad ann. 1115.

Hoc anno hyems extitit asperrima, ita ut omnes
ferè per Angliam pontes glacie frangerentur.

H. Huntingdon, ad ann. 1115.

Cometa ingens in fine Maii apparuit.

Ibidem, ad ann. 1117.

Tonitrua vero et grandines in kalendis Decembris
affuerunt, et in eodem mense cælum rubens quasi
arderet,

arderet, apparuit. Eodem autem tempore maximus BOOK V.
 terræ motus in Longobardiâ ecclesias, turres, et
 domos, et homines provolvens destruxit.

Roger de Hoveden, describing the same earthquake,
 says, ann. 1117,

Apud Longobardiam magno terræ motu facto,
 et (ut testati sunt qui novere) quadraginta dierum
 spatio durante, plurima domorum ædificia corru-
 runt; et (quod visu dictuque constat mirabile) villa
 quædam prægrandis mota est repente de statu pro-
 prio, jamque ab omnibus in loco longe remoto con-
 sistere cernitur.

Ibidem, ad ann. 1119.

Terræ motus magnus in pluribus locis per An-
 gliam factus est quarto kalend. Octobris circa ho-
 ram dici tertiam.

W. Malmesburienfis Hist. Novellæ, l. i.

Anno 31 regni Henrici Primi infesta lues do-
 mesticorum animalium totam pervagata est Angliam.
 Plenæ porcorum haræ subito vacuabantur: integra
 boum præsepia repente destituebantur. Duravit,
 sequentibus annis eadem pestis, ut nulla omnino
 totius regni villa hujus miseræ immunis alterius in-
 commoda ridere posset.

In the 33d year of that King (A. D. 1133) the
 same author, after mentioning an eclipse of the sun,
 which happened two days before, says, "Et feriâ
 " sextâ proximâ, primo mane, tantus terræ motus
 " fuit, ut penitus subsidere videretur, horrifico sono
 " sub terris ante audito. Vidi ego et in eclîpsi stellas
 " circa solem, et in terræ motu parietem domus,
 VOL. VI. F f " in

BOOK V. "in quâ sedebam, bifario impetu elevatum, tertio
"resedisse."

Ad ann.
1133.

The Continuator of Florence^{Worcester}, speaking of the eclipse mentioned by William of Malmesbury, says, "Eodem etiam die (quatuor nonas Augusti) et eadem horâ, stellæ plurimæ apparere. Nec non die eodem, cum naves ad prædicti regis transitum paratæ, in littore anchoris firmarentur, mari pacatissimo, ventoque permotico existente, cujusdam navis magnæ anchoræ à terrâ, quasi vi aliquâ, subito avulsi sunt, navisque commota, multis mirantibus, eamque tenere nistentibus, nec valentibus, sibi proximam navem commovit; et sic octo naves vi ignotâ commotæ sunt, ut nulla illarum illæsa remansisset. Sextâ autem feriâ ejusdem septimanæ, scilicet, 2 nonas ejusdem mensis, summo mane, in pluribus Angliæ partibus terræ motus factus est magnus." In this account the most remarkable circumstance is the great ship's being driven from its anchors in the port, without any wind or swell in the sea, and moving seven others that were also anchored nigh to it, by some unknown force, which certainly must have been the first shock of the earthquake, that two days afterwards was felt at land in different parts of England.

He also mentions a comet which appeared in the year 1132:

"Stella Cometæ 8 idus Octobris fere per septem dies apparuit."

Continuatio ad Florentium Wigornensem, ann. 1141.

His diebus horrendum quid in Wigornensi contigit diocesi, quod relatu dignum judicavimus. Siquidem quartâ feriâ ante octavam Ascensionis Dominicæ,

Dominicæ, circâ nonam diei horam, apud Villam quæ Walsburna dicitur, distans ab Hamtoniâ, Episcopi Wigornensis villâ, milliaro uno, ventus turbinis vehemens exortus est, et caligo teterrima, pertingens à terrâ usque ad cælum, et concutiens domum Presbyteri, cui nomen Leouredus, et officinas ejus omnes solo tenus prostravit, et minutatim confregit; tectum quoque Ecclesiæ abstulit, et ultra Avenam flumen projecit, domus etiam rusticorum fere 50 simili modo deficiens inutiles reddidit. Grando quoque ad magnitudinem ovi columbini cecidit, cujus ictibus percussa quedam foemina occubuit.

Simcon Dunelm. Hist. continuata per Johann. Prior. Hagustald. anno 1142.

Auditus autem fuerat ter terræ motus in eadem urbe (Lincolniâ) infra natâle Domini.

Gervasius Dorobern. apud Decem Scriptores, ann. 1158.

Eodem anno terræ motus factus est in pluribus locis per Angliam, et fluvius Thamise apud Londinum desiccatus est, ut siccis pedibus transiretur.

Ibidem.

Anno 1165, mense Januario, terræ motus magnus factus est in Angliâ, nocte mediâ Conversionis S. Pauli Apostoli.

Hoveden, ann. 1165.

Eodem anno duo Cometæ apparuerunt ante solis ortum, una ad Austrum, altera ad Aquilonem.

Gervaf. Doroborn. ann. 1173.

Idus Februarii apparuit in cœlo signum mirabile, nocte plusquam mediâ. Nam rubor quidam videbatur in aère, inter Orientem et Occidentem, in parte aquilonari. Radii autem albi per transversum ruboris illius erant, qui nunc graciles in modum lancearum, nunc vero lati in modum tabularum, et nunc hic, nunc ibi, quasi à terrâ sursum in cœlum erecti. Erant prædicti radii candidi, ut radii solis cum densissimam penetrant nubem. Subsecutus est splendor lucidus, auroræ similis æstivæ, cum in diem clarè luceſcit : postremo densissima nubes subnigra, in eodem climate, quasi à terrâ elevata est, quæ diem illum paulatim succrescens obumbravit*.

Annales Waverleienſes, ann. 1174.

Tota gens Angliæ tussi laborabat, et multi extincti sunt in mense Januarii.

Hoveden, ann. 1177 (1178.)

Eodem anno factum est diluvium magnum in Hollande, ruptis fossatis marinis, et diluit fere omnem substantiam illius provinciæ, et homines multos submersit, septimo idus Januarii.

Annales Waverleienſes, ann. 1178.

Erupit mare in Hollandæ, et submersit homines, villas, pecora innumerabilia, pridie id. Januarii.

* It is hardly possible to give a more exact description than this, which Gervase of Canterbury has delivered down to us, of an *aurora borealis*; a phenomenon then unusual in these parts of the globe, but of late much more frequent.

Brompton, Chron. ann. 1179.

BOOK V.

Infra vero idem natale Domini contigit, apud Oxenhale quoddam mirabile à seculo inauditum scilicet, quod, in ipsâ Domini Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmensis culturâ, terra se in altum ita vehementer elevavit quod summis montium cacuminibus obæquaretur, et quod super altâ templorum pinnacula emineret; et illa altitudo ab horâ diei nonâ usque ad occasum solis permansit. Sole vero occidente, cum tam horribili strepitu cecidit, quod omnes cumulum illum videntes, et strepitum casus illius audientes perterruit; unde multi timore illo obierunt: nam tellus eum absorbit, et puteum profundissimum ibidem fecit*.

c/

Benedict. Abb. ann. 1185.

Interim terræ motus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, *qualis nunquam antea in terrâ illâ auditus est*. Petræ enim scissæ sunt et domus lapideæ ceciderunt, et ecclesia Lincolnienfis metropolitana scissa est à summo usque ad deorsum. Contigit autem terræ motus ille in crastino Paschæ Floridi 17 kalendas Maii.

N. B. Hoveden confirms this account in almost the same words.

Diceto Imag. Hist. ad eundem annum.

Herbertus Anglicus natione, natus in Middlesex, transitum faciens in Siciliam, assensu Regis Williel-

* Camden supposes three deep pits in a field near Darlington, which, in his time, the common people called *the Hell-kettles*, to be the remains of this very extraordinary rising and sinking of the earth. But, in the account above given, only one pit is mentioned; and, naturally, the falling in of a heap of soil so raised would form but one. This hill, probably, was pushed up by subterraneous fires, like that in the Lucrine lake now called *Monte Novo*: but what has filled up the chasm caused by its sinking, or divided it into different cavities, it is not easy to say.

BOOK V. *mi creatus est in Calabria Consensanus Archiepiscopus. Cum autem illic terræ motus fieret magnus, prædictus Archiepiscopus cum clero, cum familiâ, cum magnâ parte civium obrutus est. Castella pleraque subversa, millia populorum contrita. Quædam civitas Adriatico Mari contigua, de nocte, populo quiescente, corruit in profundum. Item in Angliâ circa partes Aquilonares factus est terræ motus. In locis aliquibus ædificia corruerunt.*

Benedict. Abbas, ad eundem annum.

Interim, kalendis Maii, ipso die Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, circa meridiem, visa est Eclipsis solis per totam Angliam, et, parvo tempore interlapso, secuta sunt tonitrua cum fulgure et tempestate, *et quamplures homines et animalia ictu fulmineo percussa interierunt, et domus multæ per diversa loca Angliæ combustæ sunt.*

Hoveden gives the same account of this extraordinary storm of thunder and lightning, the greatest we read of in England.

Benedict. Abbas, ad ann. 1187.

Eodem anno exitit per totam Angliam gravis et pestifera hominum, et animalium et pecudum, mortalitas.

Idem, ad ann. 1188.

Eodem anno exitit magnus segetum defectus fere per universum mundum, ita quod sequenti æstate multi fame perierunt.

Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerarium Cambriæ, l. i.

c. 12. ad ann. 1189.

* A place near St. David's in Wales. Deinde per sabulum de * Niwegal transivimus, ubi ex eâ tempestate, quâ prædictus Anglorum Rex,

Rex, Henricus Secundus, in Hiberniæ finibus hævavit, nec non et aliis ferè cunctis partium illarum portubus ab occidente marinis, res contigit non indigna memoriæ. Ex nimia nimirum præter solitum procellæ vehementiâ, fabulosis Australis Cambriæ litoribus solo tenui sabulo nudatis, longis operta retro seculis terræ facies apparuit; arborum in ipsum mare stipites stantium, undique præcifarum, ictusque securium tanquam hesterni; terra quoque nigerrima, lignaque truncorum hebeno simillima*: mirandis rerum mutationibus, olim navigium via, nunc navibus invia, non litus, sed lucus esse videretur, aut, forte, à diluvii tempore, aut, potius, longo post, antiquitus tamen præcisus: quoniam maris violentiâ semper excrescentis, et terram amplius eluentis, paulatim absumptus et absorptus.

Contigit autem inauditâ tempestatis ejusdem rabie, congruos aliosque marinos pisces perplurimos, trans rupes maris altissimas, vi ventorum, intra dumeta projectos, à multis reperiri.

Ibidem, l. ii. c. 10.

Visa est et in urbe Cestrensi nostris diebus mulier manca, manibus carens à nativitate, cui tamen contra defectum istum tale natura remedium dederat, ut pedes tam flexibiles, tam delicate articulatos haberet, quod articulorum proceritate pariter et flexibilitate, non minus subtiliter quam aliæ mulieres, acu facere consuevit. Et quicquid filo ac forfice manibus fieri solet, citra defectum omnem, cum intuitum admiratione, pedibus ista complet.

I omit many stories of monstrous productions and other strange things related by this author, whose

* The trunks of trees found in the bogs and peat-pits of Ireland are of the same black colour.

BOOK V. fondness for *the marvellous* much impeaches his credit. But in what I have cited from him there is nothing incredible; and it may also be worth observing here, that, in the book above-cited, he describes *Castors* or *Beavers* as being found in the Teivy, a river of South Wales, at the time when he wrote.

In transcribing the accounts which contemporary writers give of the great inundation in Holland, A. D. 1175, I overlooked the description of it in William of Newbury, which is as follows:
 "Oceanus, tanquam peccatis hominum irritatus,
 "plus solito efferbuit, ruptisque in Hollandiâ re-
 "pagulis, olim contra tempestivos undarum impe-
 "petus præparatis, eandem humilem planamque re-
 "gionem, septimo idus Januarii, violentus irrupit,
 "jumenta fere omnia, hominum vero multitudi-
 "nem, necavit; reliquis ascensu vel arborum vel
 "domorum ægre salvatis; et quasi post biduum
 "furore satiato in semet ipsum rediit; cujus, nimi-
 "rum, idcirco supra modum fuit hominibus et ju-
 "mentis exitialis irruptio, quia tanquam fur everfor
 "nocturnus adveniens provideri et præcaveri non
 "potuit."

* * * The reader will observe, that through the course of this work I compute the years as beginning on the first of January. It will also be proper to note, that in quoting William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Roger de Hoveden, I follow the edition of Sir H. Saville; and in citing Glanville, the edition of the year 1604; but I have corrected many errors in the latter by the Cotton and Harleian MSS. It would be a useful work, if some student in the law would give us a new edition of that valuable treatise, with the necessary corrections. Most of the faults in the printed copies arise from false stops, which a little care would mend. In citing Ware, I follow the London edition of his original work in Latin, printed A. D. 1654. I have made little or no use of the Annals of Aquitaine, or Argentre's History of Bretagne; as they are late compilations, of no authority in themselves, and often differing from the best contemporary writers.

I N D E X.

I N D E X

TO THE

FIFTH AND SIXTH VOLUMES.

A.

AARON, the rich Jew of Lincoln, his treasures are lost between Shoreham and Dieppe, Vol. vi. p. 260.

Adelais, sister to Philip king of France, is suspected of having a criminal amour with Henry, vi. 382, 383.

Adrian IV. pope, grants a bull to Henry, by which he confers on him the sovereignty of Ireland, v. 56—59; founds his pretensions to dispose of that kingdom, on a forged grant of Constantine the great to pope Silvester II. 332; his bull for that purpose, 371—373.

Albemarle, earl of, made prisoner by the rebels, v. 153; is suspected of treachery, 153.

Alexander III. pope, receives an embassy from Henry, on the occasion of Becket's murder, v. 7—11; mediates between Henry and Louis, 152; confirms the election of Richard, prior of Dover, to the see of Canterbury, 203; at Henry's request, he sends cardinal Huguzon, his legatè *a latere*, into England, 261; his motives for the canonization of Becket, 323; threatens to lay Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he does not permit Richard, his son, to marry Adelais, sister to the king of France, vi. 78; reflections thereupon, 79, 80; his motives for encouraging Henry and Louis to take the cross, 86, 87; he constitutes an inquisitorial commission, to enquire into the heresies in the county of Toulouse, 100, 101; some account of its proceedings, 10—10; his death and character, 149, 150.

Almwick,

- Almwick*, besieged by the king of Scotland, v. 178.
- Amalarick*, king of Jerusalem, defeats the Egyptians, vi. 46; assists them against Nouredin, and takes Belbeis, 47; drives the Turks out of Egypt, 50; perfidiously seizes Belbeis, *ibid.* observations thereupon, 51; he lays siege to Damietta, but is constrained to raise it, 52; his death, 55.
- Amerciements*, in Henry II's time, v. 293—295; for hunting without leave in the king's forests, 296.
- Angouleme*, earl of, taken prisoner in his capital, by duke Richard, vi. 4.
- Apulia*, earldom of, in what manner acquired by the Normans, vi. 7, 8.
- Aquitaine*, the barons of that dutchy complain to, and confederate with, Henry the young king, against Richard their sovereign, vi. 165.
- Arthur*, duke of Bretagne, posthumous son to duke Geoffry, is born and baptized, vi. 269.
- king of Britain, doubts concerning his existence, vi. 383, 384.
- Arundel*, earl of; marches under Henry to the relief of Verneuil, v. 156; harangues the soldiery, 157; his death, vi. 266.
- Ascalon*, taken by Baldwin the third, king of Jerusalem, vi. 45.
- Ascalfe de St. Hilairs*, is dismissed by Henry from the service of Henry the young king, v. 140; is taken prisoner, 161.
- Asedoddin*, declared soldan of Egypt, and succeeded by Saladin, his nephew, vi. 51, 52; kills a man in a quarrel, and flies from Bagdat, 361.
- Astrology*, false predictions of some Spanish pretenders to that art, vi. 241, 242; the study of it first introduced into England, by its intercourse with Spain, Sicily, and the Holy Land, 379, 380.
- Aumale*, surrenders to the rebels, v. 153.
- Auvergne*, in Berry, a dispute concerning it between Henry and Louis, which shews that inquisitions, on the oaths of twelve men, were at this time customary in France, vi. 90.

B.

Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem, wins from Noureddin, Ascalon and Caesarea, and recovers the important fortress of Harenc, vi. 45; defeats the Turks under his command, 46; his death, *ibid.*

———— **IV.** succeeds Amalarick, his father, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, vi. 55; defeats Saladin, 82; intrusts Guy de Lusignan with the administration of public affairs, 212; reassumes the reins of government, 213; his death, 233.

———— **V.** succeeds his uncle, and dies after a reign of seven months, vi. 258; his death falsely imputed to violent means, 381.

Balios, Bernard de, assists Ranulph de Glanville in taking the king of Scotland prisoner, v. 195.

Bar, earl of, marches at the head of 20,000 Brabanters into Spain, against the Saracens, vi. 140, 141.

Barre, Richard de, is sent ambassador to pope Alexander III. v. 7.

Barres, William de, is unhorsed and taken prisoner by duke Richard, vi. 327.

Basilea, sister to Strongbow, writes in cypher to Raymond her husband, on her brother's death, vi. 360.

Bauville, Arnaud de, holds Chatillon on Agen, against duke Richard, vi. 3.

Becket, his murderers retire into Yorkshire, v. 3; ridiculous account of miracles, pretended to have been wrought at his tomb, 321—324; oblations made at his altar compared with those made at Christ's and the Virgin's, vi. 368, 369.

Bede, his account of the establishment of the Irish Scots in the western parts of North Britain appears doubtful, v. 326, 327.

Benedict, abbot, the reasons assigned by him for Henry's stopping the earl of Flanders from going to the Holy Land, improbable, vi. 361; a mistake of his, in quoting a summons of Henry to his military vassals, 362, 363; his description of the persons who composed that Parliament at Northampton, which confirmed the statutes of Clarendon, inaccurate, 365, 366.

Bernard,

Bernard, his account of the irreligion and barbarism of the people of Conaught, as related to him by Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, v. 329, 330.

Berth, general to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, invades Ireland, v. 33, 34.

Boamond, son to Robert Guiscard, disputes the succession with his brother Roger, vi. 15; obtains the principality of Antioch, 16.

Bobun, Humphry de, appointed, by Henry, governor of Waterford, v. 122; he joins Richard de Lucy, 165; marches against the rebels in Suffolk, 170; defeats them, and takes the earl of Leicester, 172.

Bonaght and *Cosberings*, exactions imposed on the Irish, somewhat similar to coign and livery, v. 350, 351.

Boulogne, Matthew, earl of, brother to the earl of Flanders, joins in a league against Henry, v. 137; his death, 154; is succeeded by his brother Peter, who is wounded at the siege of Rouen, 211.

Brabanters, they are employed by Henry in suppressing the rebellion of his sons, v. 149; excommunicated by the Lateran council, vi. 107, 108; hired by Henry, the young king, and his brother Geoffry, 166; are the means of preventing a reconciliation between those princes and their father, 177, 178; they enter into the service of Philip king of France, 198; and, mutinying on account of their arrears, are paid by that prince, and immediately after, by his orders, stripped of their money, horses, and arms, 330.

Brehen laws, among the Irish, their nature and bad consequences, v. 29—32.

Breufe, Philip de, receives a grant from Henry, of the kingdom of North Munster, vi. 93; declines any attempt to possess himself of it, 95.

— William de, his cruelties towards the Welsh, v. 123.

Brock, Kanulph de, receives Becket's writings and papers from his murderers, v. 3.

Bryan Boro, monarch of Ireland, his great abilities, v. 38; is killed, 40.

C.

CÆSAR, confines the institutions of the Druids to Gaul and the British isles, v. 325.

Canterbury, Richard, prior of Dover, is elected archbishop of that see, v. 202; disputes concerning his election, 203; is appointed legate, *ibid.* he convenes a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province, 227; justifies the conduct of the English bishops, vi. 112, 113; disapproves of ecclesiastical incroachments on the regal power, 115, 116 (see also Appendix, vi. 408—411); exhorts Henry the young king to return to his duty and obedience, 175, 176; his death and character, 202; is succeeded by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, *ibid.* disputes concerning his election, 203; he remonstrates against the longer stay of the pope's legates in England, 259; preaches the crusade in Wales, 298; excommunicates Owen Civilloc, a prince of that country, for not coming out to meet him, 299; his disputes with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 311—316.

Casbell, psalter of, its authenticity discredited by bishop Stillingfleet, v. 324.

Casiles, manner of raising them, on sudden emergencies, v. 361.

Cathari, a set of heretics in the south of France, some account of their religious-tenets, and the proceedings against them, vi. 101—106.

Celts, they are supposed to have been the first institutors of ordeals by fire and water, v. 366, 367; were likewise accustomed to decide controversies by duel, 367, 368.

Chatel, Hugh de, taken prisoner at the battle of Fernham, v. 172.

Chatillon, Arnaud de, violates the truce agreed upon between Saladin and the Christians, vi. 271; is put to death by him, 278.

Chester, Hugh, earl of, is made prisoner at Dol, v. 161; pardoned by Henry, and restored to all his possessions, but his castles, vi. 38; is appointed by Henry to assist prince

- prince John, in the complete reduction of Ireland, and restored to his castles, 67, 68; his death, *ibid.*
- Chester*, Ranulph, earl of, marries the dowager of Geoffrey duke of Bretagne, vi. 269.
- Clement III.* pope, is reconciled to Henry king of the Romans, vi. 307, 308; sends a legate to Henry, 314.
- Cogan*, Milo de, appointed governor of Dublin, v. 89; he defeats Harculf the Dane in his attempt on that city, 95, 96; his speech to an Irish chieftain at the siege of Dublin, 340; marches against Roderick O'Connor; but is constrained to retire back to Dublin, vi. 64—66; receives a joint grant with Fitzstephen, of the province of Cork, or South Munster, 69; is murdered near Lismore, 220; the time of his death mistaken by Giraldus Cambrensis, 377.
- Richard de, succeeds to his late brother's appointment and possessions, vi. 221.
- Calagne*, archbishop of, comes on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, vi. 194.
- Canani*, a Celtic nation, who came from Spain, and settled in Ireland, v. 324, 325.
- Conrade*, son to the marquis of Montserrat, obliges Saladin to raise the siege of Tyre, vi. 288; refuses the earl of Tripoly admittance into that city, 289; joins the king of Jerusalem in the siege of Ptolemais, 311.
- Convention* between Henry and his sons, v. 213—215 (see Appendix, 384—388); between Henry and the king of Scotland, 226—223 (see Appendix, 388—392); and the king of Conaught, 256—265 (see Appendix, 393—395).
- Cork*, besieged by the Irish, is relieved by Raymond, vi. 220, 221.
- Cornwall*, Reginald, earl of, is ordered to attack the town and castle of Leicester, v. 164; he joins Humphry de Bohun on his march into Suffolk, 170; his brothers and nephew receive a grant from Henry, of the kingdom of Limerick, vi. 69.
- Council*, the third of those called Lateran, some account of its proceedings, vi. 106—110.
- of Verona, an account of its proceedings, vi. 234, 235.

Creon, Maurice de, appointed deputy, or viceroy, of the province of Maine, v. 181.

Cross, that on which Christ is supposed to have suffered, is taken at the battle of Tiberias, vi. 277.

Crusades, founded in papal policy, observations on their bad consequences, vi. 86, 87.

Cumin, an Englishman, consecrated by the pope archbishop of Dublin, vi. 224.

—— Richard, chancellor to the king of Scotland, is taken prisoner with that monarch, v. 194.

Curcy, John de, arrives in Ireland, vi. 32; defeats Mac Dunlevy, king of Ulster, and takes the bishop of Down prisoner, 62, 63; erects a fort at Down Patrick, *ibid.* is victorious in several engagements, but is at last obliged to retire with loss, 96; he defeats O Lachlyn, prince of Tyrone, 223; is appointed to the chief administration of the affairs of that kingdom, 229.

D.

DAVID, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the king of Scotland, commands the rebels at Leicester; but, on hearing of his brother's captivity, retires into that kingdom, v. 196; joins his brother in liege homage to Henry, as presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, 234; does homage to him for the earldom of Huntingdon, to whom Henry had restored it, on the death of the earl of Northampton, vi. 218.

David, ap Owen, prince of North Wales, owns Henry as his sovereign, v. 107; assists him in his foreign wars, v. 201; comes to a parliament at Oxford, where Henry gives him in marriage Emma his natural sister, vi. 74.

Damville, burnt by the Welsh, under the command of duke Richard, vi. 328.

Derby and Nottingham, Robert de Ferrara, earl of, declares for the rebels, v. 179; implores Henry's mercy, 199; is pardoned, 200.

Dervorgalla, wife to O Ruark, goes off with Dermot king of Leinster, and dies in a penitential retreat, v. 64.

Dicto,

Diceto, his account of the treachery of Henry's generals after the battle of Fernham, improbable, v. 360, 361.

Dragon, second son to the earl of Hauteville, succeeds to the earldom of Apulia, on the death of his brother, vi. 9; receives the investiture of that country from the emperor Henry II. *ibid.* is murdered, *ibid.*

Dublin, besieged by O Ruark, is gallantly defended by Milo de Cogan, who constrains him to retire with great loss, v. 108; a charter granted by Henry to its inhabitants, by which he allows them a free trade with all his dominions, vi. 34.

Duncan, earl of Fife, his shocking cruelties in Northumberland, v. 192.

Durham, Hugh de Pufcy, bishop of, delivers up his castles to Henry, v. 199; all his fortresses are restored to him, on his paying a fine of two thousand marks, except that of Alverton, which Henry orders to be destroyed, vi. 59; is dispossessed by him of his palace, for executing the will of the deceased archbishop of York, 155.

E.

ELEANOR, Henry's queen, enters into a conspiracy with his rebellious sons, to dethrone him, v. 136; is arrested and confined, 145; a letter to her, from the archbishop of Rouen, 376—378; is freed from her confinement, vi. 192; exercises sovereign power in Poitou, with Henry's consent, 230, 231; is again confined, and remains so, till she is released by her son Richard, after Henry's death, 236; an account of her confinement, from several contemporary authors, 378, 379.

— Henry's second daughter, betrothed to Alphonso, king of Castile, is delivered to that prince, vi. 30.

Englescherry, its meaning and intention, v. 294, 295.

Ermengarde, Henry's kinswoman, is married to William king of Scotland, vi. 250.

Essex, William de Mandeville, earl of, is surety to Henry, for the performance of the engagements and promises of Henry the young king, v. 225; he accompanies the

the earl of Flanders to Palestine, vi. 58; serves under him in a war against Philip king of France, 200; is appointed by Henry to a command in Normandy, 265, 266.

Evereux, bishop of, sent by Henry on an embassy to the pope, v. 7.

F.

FITZALDELM, William, is appointed by Henry governor of Wexford, v. 122; constituted deputy of Ireland, vi. 32; his jealousy of Raymond, 33; his conduct is displeasing to the English in that kingdom, 60; is dismissed from his former post, and appointed to the government of Wexford, 70.

Fitzgerald, Maurice, son to Nesta, arrives in Ireland, and is appointed to the chief command of the English in that kingdom, v. 79, 80; assists Strongbow, in the defence of Dublin and defeat of the Irish, 98—101.

Fitzhenry, Meyler, nephew to Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen, is unhorsed, v. 101; he relieves Strongbow closely besieged in Waterford, 248; an extraordinary instance of his valour, 250, 251; marries a niece of Hugh de Lacy, vi. 219.

Fitzjohn, William, is dispatched by Richard Humet, with orders to arrest Becket, v. 2.

Fitzpatrick, chieftain of Ossory, is defeated by Fitzstephen, v. 76; a peace concluded between him and the king of Leinster, 77; expelled by that prince from his principality, 90.

Fitzstephen, Robert, lands in Ireland, v. 13; is prevailed on, by the fraud and perjury of two Irish bishops, to deliver up his fort of Carrick, 101, 102; is delivered up to Henry by the Irish, 109; ordered by him into Normandy, 227; he receives a joint grant of the kingdom of Cork with Milo de Cogan, vi. 69; defends Cork valiantly against the Irish, 221.

Flanders, earl of, enters into a league with Louis and Henry the young king, and receives from the latter a grant of the earldom of Kent, v. 147; he quits Normandy on the death of his brother Matthew, earl of Boulogne, 154; renews his former engagements with
Vol. VI. G g the

the confederates, 174; his attempt on Rouen frustrated, 206, 207; is stung with remorse, and sues for peace, 210, 211; he delivers up to Henry, his son's grant of the earldom of Kent, 227; comes on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, vi. 43; departs for the Holy Land, 58; returns without effecting any thing, 81; submits his disputes with the king of France to Henry's determination, 158; marries a princess of Portugal, 192; makes war on Philip; but is obliged to agree to a peace, on very disadvantageous terms, 198, 199; a remarkable saying of his, 203; he acts as a mediator between Henry and Philip, 342.

Flemings, ten thousand of them, said, by some writers, to have been slain, at the battle of Fernham, v. 360.

Frederick, Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, is constrained to acknowledge Alexander as head of the church, and, falling at his feet, as a penitent, is absolved by that pontiff, vi. 86; he deprives, with the consent of a diet held at Gelnhausen, the duke of Saxony of all his dominions, 131; marches into Saxony and Bavaria, and subdues them, 132; reduces Lubec and Holstein, 133; encamps near Lunenburgh, but forbears to besiege it, reserving that city for the duchess of Saxony, *ibid.* recommends the duke's petition, praying the restitution of his dominions at a diet held at Quedlemburgh, 134; he empowers the archbishop of Cologne to conclude a match with Henry, between duke Richard and his daughter, 194; takes the cross, 304; an improbable account given by some writers of what passed between him and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, 370, 371; his letter to Henry, 424.

G.

GALWEGIANS, their cruelty and ferocity, v. 165; they offer to pay tribute to Henry, and own his sovereignty, 237.

Gauelkind, nature of it among the Irish, v. 28, 29.

Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, Henry's third son, joins his brothers in rebellion, v. 142; engages in an oath with Louis and Henry the young king, for that purpose, 146;

116; returns to his obedience, 213; is intrusted by Henry with the demolition of the castles lately erected in Bretagne, 223; knighted by his father at Woodstock, vi. 92; is ordered by him to go into Bretagne, to reduce a revolted baron, 118; he does homage for that duchy to Henry the young king, as duke of Normandy, 163; is married to Constantia, inheritor of the duchy of Bretagne, 166; he continues to aid his brother the young king in rebellion against his father, and strips St. Martial's shrine, 168—174; is pardoned by Henry, 182; his intrigues with Philip, and his death and character, 248—250.

Geoffry, bishop of Lincoln, Henry's natural son, by Rosamond Clifford, drives Roger de Mowbray out of Yorkshire, v. 176; his popularity, 176, 177; he surprises the castle of Kinardsferry and demolishes that of Malepert, 177, 178; joins Henry with a strong force at Huntingdon, 195; a remarkable saying of his father on that occasion, *ibid.* is obliged to resign his bishopric, vi. 238; Henry appoints him his chancellor, and bestows revenues upon him in Normandy, to the amount of two thousand marks yearly, *ibid.* though much fatigued and spent in the defence of Mans, he offers to keep watch in an out-post near Frenelles, that his father might sleep in safety, 340; his filial piety to his father, in his last illness, 347.

Gervase, of Canterbury, his reasons for Henry's expedition into Ireland rejected, and the true motives assigned, v. 346.

Gilbert, chieftain of Galloway, puts his brother Uctred to death, v. 236; does homage to Henry, vi. 36, 37; his death, 242.

Giraldus Cambrensis, his account of the supposed vindictive disposition of the Welsh and Irish saints founded on the personal character of those nations, vi. 396.

Glanville, Ranulph de, intreats Geoffry bishop of Lincoln's assistance against the Scotch, v. 177; takes the king of Scotland prisoner, 194; succeeds Richard de Lucy as grand justiciary of the realm, vi. 121; marches against the Welsh, 161; is sent into South Wales, to treat with Rhees ap Gryffyth, 256, 257; takes the cross, 295; forbids the pope's legate to proceed

ceed in a dispute between the monks of Canterbury and the archbishop, 312; his answer to the monks concerning that business, 314; his writ of inhibition to them, 426, 427.

Gloucester, earl of, joins the king's forces near St. Edmundsbury, v. 170; delivers up the tower of Bristol to Henry, who orders it to be demolished, 228; is arrested, vi. 172; set at liberty, 257.

Gregory VIII. pope, exhorts all Christian princes to join in the defence of the Holy Land, vi. 282, 283; his death, *ibid.*

Guiscard, Robert de, fourth son to Tancred earl of Hauteville, succeeds to the earldom of Apulia, vi. 10; assumes the title of duke, 11; agrees to pay an annual tribute to the pope, *ibid.* invades and subdues Sicily, accompanied by his brother Roger, to whom he gives the investiture of that island, with the title of count, 12, 13; relieves the pope, who is besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, 14; overcomes the Venetians in a naval engagement, 15; his death, *ibid.*

Gwynith, Owen, prince of North Wales, his great abilities, virtues, and death, v. 104.

H.

HAGANETH Castle, taken by the earls of Leicester and Norfolk, v. 170.

Hasculf, is entrusted with the custody of Dublin by Dermot king of Leinster, v. 81; shakes off his obedience, 87; is besieged by Dermot and Strongbow, and escaping, flies to Norway, 89; returns, and attempts to retake Dublin; but is defeated, taken prisoner and beheaded, 95, 96.

Henry II. endeavours to prevent any violence being offered to Becket without a legal authority, v. 1; sends Richard de Humet his justiciary in Normandy into England to the young king, with orders to have that prelate arrested, should he refuse to comply with certain requisitions, 2; his extreme grief on hearing of Becket's murder, 4; he declares his utter abhorrence of the murderers, and orders the body to be honourably interred, 5; further effects of his grief, *ibid.* sends
ambassadors

ambassadors to the pope, on that occasion, 6; forms the design of annexing Ireland to his regal dominions, 13; receives a grant of it from pope Adrian, 57; promises to assist the king of Leinster in the recovery of his dominions, 66; grants him letters patents, *ibid.* recalls strongbow from Ireland, 92, 93; pardons Rhees ap Gryffyth, and bestows on him the castle of Cardigan, 106; takes into his custody Carleon upon Uske, 107; sails from Milford Haven, and lands near Waterford, *ibid.* annexes to his royal demesnes in that kingdom, the possessions of the Ostmen and the seaports, 111; arrives in Dublin, and receives the homage of most of the Irish princes, 111, 112; keeps his Christmas at Dublin, and feasts such of the Irish princes as had done homage to him, 113; convenes a synod at Cashel, *ibid.* is detained in Ireland by tempestuous weather, 119; settles that kingdom on his departure, 120; observations thereupon, 121, 122; he arrives in South Wales, 123; appoints Rhees ap Gryffyth his chief justice in that principality, 124; is reconciled to the Roman see, 125; his terms of reconciliation, 125—127; is absolved by the pope's legates, *ibid.* prosperous state of his affairs before his sons break out into rebellion, 134, 135; he visits his castles on the frontiers of France, and puts them in a posture of defence, 140; endeavours to bring back Eleanor and his children to their duty, 142; sends an embassy to Louis, which the latter treats with contempt, 143, 144; dangerous situation of his affairs, 148, 149; he applies to the pope, to excommunicate his rebellious children, 150; offers battle to Louis; but, on his desiring a conference, grants him a truce of one day, 157, 158; rewards his mercenaries with the plunder of the French camp, 160; confers with Louis, 166, 167; agrees to a suspension of arms, 173; recovers from the rebels the city of Saintonge, 181; sets sail from Barfleur, and arrives at Southampton, 184; goes on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, and there undergoes a severe penance, 185, 186; reflections thereupon, 187—190; he receives an account of the king of Scotland's captivity, 191; takes the castle of Huntingdon, 195; compels the earl of

Norfolk to submit, and pardons him, 197; suppresses the rebellion in England, 200; returns to Normandy, and meets Richard, lately elected archbishop of Canterbury, 201; leaves his royal captive, and the two earls whom he brought from England, in custody at Caen, 204; relieves Rouen, 207; agrees to a conference with Louis at Gizors, 210; the truce agreed on at that meeting is prolonged, 212; he makes war on Richard, *ibid.* signs a convention with his sons, 213—216; motives for his extraordinary clemency, 217, 218; he forbears to punish the treason of his queen, *ibid.* agrees to a convention with the king of Scotland, 220—223; demolishes the castles lately erected in Anjou, *ibid.* arrives in England, accompanied by the young king, and, in a parliament held at Westminster, orders a notification to be made of what passed at Bure, 227; goes on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, 228; employs odious means to replenish his exhausted coffers, 229—231; orders four knights to be tried and executed at Litchfield, 232; holds a great council at Gloucester, where he pardons Jorwerth, and restores to him Carleon upon Uske, 232, 233; impleads the inhabitants of Nottingham for hunting his deer, 234; receives personal liege homage from the king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls, bishops, barons, knights, and freeholders, of his realm, by which he became the first king of all Britain, 234, 235; he refuses to treat with the Galwegians, 237; concludes a convention with the ambassadors of Roderick O Connor, 256—259; observations thereupon, 259, 260; he gives reason to suspect his intentions of getting himself divorced from his queen, 261; holds a parliament at Northampton, in which he renews and confirms the statutes of Clarendon, 264; he afterwards writes a letter to the pope, in which he promises to relax those laws, with only two exceptions, 265; is much displeased with the instigators of the scuffle in which the archbishop of York is ill-treated, 268; he summons a great council at Winchester, where he prevails on the archbishops of Canterbury and York to take an oath, that they would suspend all enmity against each other, for five years, 269, 270; grants a charter for
the

the restoration of wrecks to the owners, 319, 320 ; the application made to him by the people of Waterford concerning Fitzstephen, as related in the historical poem, rejected, 349, 350 ; Gervase of Canterbury's account of his familiar intercourse with Becket's murderers, highly improbable, 351, 352 ; he accepts fines from persons to excuse them from the fire ordeal, 368 ; his grant to Hugh de Lacy of the province of Meath, 373, 374 ; a letter to him from the cardinal legates, containing his terms of reconciliation with the church, on account of Becket's murder, 374, 375 ; a letter to him from the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Lisieux, his ambassadors to Louis king of France, 378—380 ; his letter to pope Alexander III, 380—382 ; to Frederick emperor of Germany, 382, 383 ; the degree of consanguinity between him and Eleanor his queen, 395 ; his letter to pope Alexander, 396 ; his charter for the restoration of wrecks to the owners, 412—414 ; demands Adam de Chirkdun of Henry the young king, vi. 6 ; summons a parliament, to consider of the propriety of a match, proposed by the king of Sicily, with Jane his youngest daughter, 29 ; he appoints William Fitzaldelm his deputy in Ireland, 32 ; grants a charter to the citizens of Bristol, to inhabit Dublin, allowing them the same privileges and immunities they enjoyed at home, 34 ; convenes a parliament at Windsor, wherein he concert measures for defeating the designs of his enemies, 36 ; pardons the rebellious chieftain of Galloway, *ibid.* holds a great council at Northampton, at which he restores the earls of Chester and Leicester to most of their former possessions, 38 ; summons a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to assist him in giving judgement on a matter that had been referred to his court by the kings of Castile and Navarre, 40 ; orders John Senex, a rich citizen of London, to be hanged for a riot, 42 ; accompanies the earl of Flanders to Becket's tomb, 43 ; promises him to go with him to the Holy Land ; but shortly after, sends the archbishop of Canterbury to stop him for the present, 44 ; makes the earl a present of five hundred marks of silver, to defray his expences on that expedition, 58 ;

holds a parliament at Oxford, where he parcels out Ireland, among the English and Welsh adventurers, into governments and fiefs, 69—72; assembles his royal navy, 76; sends ambassadors to the king of France, to make certain requisitions, 77; is reconciled to Henry the young king, 79; he holds a conference with Louis, at which all disputes are amicably adjusted, 81; the latter presses him to take the cross with him, 82; they join in a manifesto, expressive of their intentions to that purpose, 83; its contents, 83, 84; he recovers the possession of the heiress of Chateroux, 88; proceeds judicially against the nobility and gentry of the Limousin, 89; purchases La Marche from its earl, 90; lands at Weymouth, and accompanies the archbishop of Rheims in his devotions to Becket's tomb, 91; holds a parliament at Windsor, 117; accompanies Louis king of France to Becket's tomb, and conducts him back as far as Dover, 119; orders the murderers of Cadwallon to be hanged, 123; confers with the queen of France and her brothers, 125; reconciles Philip the king of France and his mother, *ibid.* he declines to assist by arms his son-in-law the duke of Saxony, 136; orders a new coinage, 137; confers with Philip on the danger of the Christians in Palestine, 139; offers the earl of Bar money, on condition of his leading the troops, he was marching at the head of into Spain, to the relief of the Holy Land, 141; obtains the consent of his parliament to a statute or assize for the arming of all his subjects, 142—145; summons the king of Scotland to appear before him in Normandy, 151; seizes into his hands the effects of the late archbishop of York, 154; endeavours to reconcile his sons to each other, 167, 168; is twice shot at from the walls of one of his own towns, 168, 169; he dissuades Henry the young king from taking the cross; but in the end consents to it, 170, 171; his popular acts in Anjou and Maine, 178; his immoderate grief on the death of Henry the young king, 182; reduces the castle of Limoges, *ibid.* proposes to give prince John the duchy of Aquitaine, 186; settles a dowry upon the queen of Henry the young king, 188; does homage to Philip for all his transmarine dominions,

190; mediates and brings about a peace between Philip and the earl of Flanders, 191; sends ambassadors to the Council of Verona, to beg the pope's friendly intercession with the emperor in behalf of the duke of Saxony, 195; grants a subsidy to the pope, in order to assist him against his rebellious subjects, *ibid.* marches against Rhees ap Gryffyth, who submits to him, 201; exhorts his bishops and clergy to a reformation; complains of his own condition, and of the vast power and possessions of their monks, and their dependance on the see of Rome, 202—204; reconciles his sons to each other, 205; makes an affize of the forest, 207; observations thereupon, 207—209; receives a favourable answer to the embassy he sent to the emperor and the pope, concerning the duke of Saxony, 210; holds a great council at London, to consult about the relief of Palestine, to which the king and barons of Scotland, now subjected to England, are summoned, 214; promises fifty thousand marks towards the defence of the Holy Land, 216; an account of his last will and testament made in the year 1182, 216—218; summons a great council at Windsor, at which he enfeoffs William king of Scotland in the earldom of Huntingdon, *ibid.* sends prince John into Ireland, *ibid.* dismisses Hugh de Lacy, and appoints Philip de Worcester his deputy in that kingdom, 222; arrives in Normandy, and compels Richard, who had ravaged Geofrey's territories, to lay down his arms, 230; returns into England with his queen, 236; fills up the vacant sees, 239, 240; summons his military tenants, and marches against the Galwegians, 243; obtains a bull from the pope, and fixes a day for the crowning his son John king of Ireland; but desists from his intentions, 253, 254; lands in Normandy with a great army, 259, 260; confers with Philip on the differences subsisting between them, *ibid.* observations on their true motives, 260—263; concludes a truce with Philip, for two years, 266; disapproves of Richard's resolution to take the cross, yet determines to support his enterprise with dignity and effect, 281, 282; confers with Philip, and takes the cross, 290, 291; meets his great council at Grittington, where the manner, method, and expences,

for

for the undertaking he now engages in, are settled and provided for, 292—298; the means he employed to raise the money granted by parliament for that purpose, *ibid.* he demands a supply from the king of Scotland, towards prosecuting the war in Palestine, but is refused, 302, 303; reasons for that refusal, *ibid.* sends a minister to the courts of Germany, Hungary, and Constantinople, to demand a free passage for his troops to the Holy Land, 308, 309; makes a remarkable answer to the deputies sent to him from the monks of Canterbury, 315, 316; sends ambassadors to Philip, to represent to him the injustice of his conduct, but obtains no satisfaction, 325, 326; hastens back to France, and demands the restitution of such parts of his territories as Philip had possessed himself of during his absence, 327; refuses to give up Adelaïs to Richard, or to let an oath of fealty be taken to him as heir apparent, 331; renews the truce with Philip, 333; sends the archbishop of Canterbury to Richard, to endeavour to detach him from Philip; but to no purpose, 335; holds a conference with Philip and Richard, under the mediation of the pope's legates, at La Forte Bernard, where they insist on their former demands, 335, 336; sends Ranulph de Glanville into England, to summon all his military tenants to serve him in the present war, 338; is attacked in Mans by Philip, and escapes with difficulty, 338, 339; retires to Frenelles, *ibid.* takes an oath from the earl of Essex and the seneschal of Normandy, that, in case of his decease, they should deliver all his castles in that duchy to his son John, 340; goes to Chinon, and from thence to Saumur, *ibid.* agrees to a plan of pacification with Philip, by the mediation of the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, 342; terms on which it was concluded, 343; the agitation of his mind, occasioned by his son John's ingratitude, and his being compelled to a peace, dictated by his enemies, throws him into a fever, 345, 346; he is carried from the last conference to Chinon in a litter, *ibid.* his last affecting words to his son Geoffry his chancellor, 346, 347; his death, *ibid.* his character compared with that of his grandfather

Hen.

Henry I. 347—358; he obliges Cardinal Vivian, the pope's legate, on his going into Scotland, to take an oath, that he would do nothing prejudicial to the interests of his kingdom, 363, 364; the imputation of his sowing dissensions among his children unjust, 373; the opinion of his having employed Brabanters in the war against his son refuted, 373, 374; a proof of his having enforced the statutes of Clarendon after Becket's death, 375, 376; his flight from the conference near Gisors not deemed a turning his back to his enemies, 402; his desire of having the bishopric of Winchester bestowed on Geoffry, his natural son, accounted for, 403; he makes no mention of William Longsword, his natural son, in his last illness, *ibid.* his charter to the citizens of Bristol, to inhabit Dublin, 405, 406; to the citizens of Dublin, granting them a free trade with the rest of his dominions, *ibid.* his grant to Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan, of the kingdom of Cork, and custody of the city, 406—408; his assize for the arming of his subjects, 411—414; his assize of the forest, 417, 418; his last will and testament, 419—423; his letter to Frederic emperor of Germany, 423, 424; to the Greek emperor, 424, 425.

Henry, the young king, is joined in security to the church, for the performance of his father's oath, v, 127; is crowned with his queen at Winchester, 132; is present at his father's absolution, by the pope's legates, at Caen, 133; is instigated by his mother to rebel, 136; he demands from his father, to be put in present possession of England, Normandy, or Anjou, 138; takes an oath to Louis, never to make peace with his father without the concurrence of him and his barons, 146; concerta fresh measures with his confederates, 174; returns to his obedience, 213; is advised by Louis not to venture into England, 224; he refuses to accompany his father thither, *ibid.* submits to him, and obtains his forgiveness, 224, 225; accompanies his father to England, and lands at Portsmouth; they are present at a synod in London, from whence they pay a visit to Becket's tomb, 227, 228; William of Newbury's account of his drawing off his brothers Richard and Geoffry with him, out of Aquitaine, rejected, 358; pretends

pretends to have an intention of going on a pilgrimage to Compostella, vi. 2; attends at a great council held at Winchester, *ibid.* is prevented from going to Compostella by his father, who prevails on him to give his assistance to his brother Richard, in subduing his rebellious subjects in Aquitaine, 3; he enters into close familiarity and confidence with the associates in his former rebellion, 5; punishes Adam de Chirkdun, whom his father had appointed to be his chancellor without consulting him, 5, 6; his father is again reconciled to him, 79; he assists his father in suppressing a revolt in Berry, 88; raises an army, and with his brothers marches to the assistance of Philip against the earl of Flanders, 158; makes a demand to his father, of an immediate grant of the duchy of Normandy, and retires into France; but at length consents to accept of a daily allowance, 162; is assisted by his brother Geoffry in making war on Richard, 166; he submits to his father, and, in confirmation of his sincerity, delivers up to him his horse and arms, 170; charges Geoffry to their father with being the adviser of all his offences; and vows, on the reliques of St. Martial, to take the cross, *ibid.* his father strongly opposes it; but, upon his persisting, promises to fit him out for that warfare in a manner suitable to his rank, 171; he prevails on his father to pardon the rebels of Aquitaine, *ibid.* returns to his former disobedience, 172; the distressed situation of his affairs, 177; he is included in a general excommunication denounced against his father's enemies, in an assembly of the clergy held at Caen, 179; he refuses nevertheless to agree to the terms proposed by his father, *ibid.* pillages the shrine of a saint in the neighbourhood of Limoges, 180; is taken ill, and on hearing that there are no hopes of his recovery, he sends a message to his father, imploring him to come and see his dying son, 181; dies, with the greatest marks of penitence, before the messengers could return with his father's answer, *ibid.* a dispute arises concerning where his body shall be interred, 183, 184; his character, 184, 185; he helps to sustain Philip's crown at his coronation,

nation, 369, 370; his delivering *his cross* to William Mareſchal, as related by Hoveden, a miſtake, 374.

Henry, ſurnamed the Lion, duke of Saxony, ſon-in-law to Henry, is ſummoned to a diet held at Worms, in order to answer to certain charges, vi. 128; is cited to a diet held at Goſlar; but, on his reſuſing to appear, is condemned as contumacious, 129; he marches into Thuringia and Heſſe, and, by winning two battles, makes himſelf maſter of thoſe countries, 130; recovers Weſtphalia, and takes and fires Halberſtad, 131; is deprived by the emperor, in a diet held at Gelnhauſen, of all his territories, which are parcelled out among different princes of the empire, *ibid.* is conſtrained to fly into Holſtein; but maintains himſelf ſome time in Lower Saxony, 132, 133; he retires into the diocèſe of Bremen, *ibid.* ſubmits to the emperor, and begs that ſome of his territories may be reſtored to him, 134; is baniſhed the empire for ſeven years, 135; his baniſhment is reduced to the term of three years, and the cities of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh are aſſigned as a dower for his duchefs, 136; he and his duchefs are received affectionately by Henry in Normandy, *ibid.* he goes on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella, 137; his duchefs arrives in England, 192; and is delivered of a ſon ſoon after her arrival, who was the founder of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, and ancestor of the preſent royal family of Great Britain, 193; the duke arrives in England, *ibid.* receives, through the interpoſition of Henry, a favourable answer from the emperor, and returns to Germany, 210; is ordered by a diet held at Gaſlar, to accompany the emperor to the Holy Land, or to quit the empire, the latter of which he conſents to, 305; he reſuſes to permit his ſon to go on the ſame errand, 306; his duchefs dies at Brunſwick, and he returns to his father-in-law's court, *ibid.* an account of his travelling expences from Wincheſter to London, 371; the improbability of his adviſing Henry to ſow diſſenſions among his children, 373.

Heracbius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, arrives in England, and craves Henry's aſſiſtance towards the defence of the Holy Land, vi. 210, 211; he accompanies Henry into

into Normandy, 229; confers with him and Philip, and returns to Jerusalem, 231; Giraldus Cambrensis's account of his request to Henry, concerning prince John, rejected, 376, 377; his supposed abuse of Henry discredited, *ibid.*

Hervey, of Mount Maurice, arrives in Ireland, and is deputed by Strongbow to assist Fitzstephen with his counsels, v. 73; he brings letters to Strongbow from his friends in England, who desire that the earl might wait upon Henry, 102; obtains the chief command of the army in Ireland, 244; accuses Raymond to Henry of treasonable designs, 252, 253.

Hoveden, a mistake of his, concerning a supposed bull of pope Clement III. vi. 393, 394.

Huguzon, cardinal legate *à latere*, authorises prosecutions against the clergy, for hunting in the king's forests, v. 264; prevails on the archbishops of York and Canterbury to submit a dispute subsisting between them to the judgement of the archbishop of Rouen and other prelates, 267; is accused of extorting money from the clergy, *ibid.*

Humphry, third son of Tancred Earl of Hauteville, succeeds his brother Drogon, and revenges his death, vi. 9; is attacked by the pope, but takes him prisoner, 10; his death, *ibid.*

I.

Jerusalem, taken by Saladin, vi. 284; observations thereupon, 285, 286.

John, Henry's youngest son, a match is concluded between him and Isabella, daughter to William earl of Gloucester, vi. 30; the feudal dominion of Ireland is conferred on him by his father, in a parliament held at Oxford, 69; is knighted by him, 218; he lands in Ireland with a powerful army, and is well received by the natives, 224, 225; his imprudent carriage towards them, *ibid.* reflections thereupon, 226; his consequent bad success, 227, 228; he attributes it to Hugh de Lacy, 228, 229; returns into England, *ibid.* is invested by Henry with the earldom of Mortagne, 266; his rebellion and ingratitude, with other concurrent

concurrent circumstances, are supposed to have brought on his father's illness, and to have occasioned his death, 345, 346.

John, of Salisbury, the means employed by him to raise the character of Becket, his deceased friend and patron, v. 11, 12; reflections thereupon, *ibid.* his attempts to justify Becket's cause, by the pretended miracle wrought at his tomb, 321—324; charges the archbishop of York with the commission of a detestable crime, vi. 371—373; his letter to the archbishop of Sens, 414—417.

Jerwerib, a Welsh chieftain, takes the town of Carleon upon Uske, and burns it, v. 123; his son Owen is killed, 124; he does homage to Henry, accompanied by many of the Welsh princes, at Gloucester, and is pardoned, 233.

Ireland, an abridged history of that country, from the earliest accounts to the time of the arrival of the English in that kingdom, v. 13—56; further continued till the time of Henry's II's death, 62—104; 107—123; 238—260; vi. 30—35; 59—74; 93—98; 218—229; 245—247; 299, 300.

Irish, their provincial kings eligible to be advanced to the supreme monarchy, as some of the German electors are at present to be chosen emperors, v. 325; an account, from Dr. Warner, of the revenues of their monarchs, and in what they consisted, 326; were unacquainted with the use of the long bow, vi. 392, 393.

Isaac, Angelus, the Greek emperor, his excessive pride and haughtiness, vi. 395; his letter to Henry, 425, 426.

Itinerant justices, or justices in eyre, established by Henry in a parliament held at Northampton, v. 270; whence copied, 271; Lord Hale's remarks thereupon, 271—273; the nature of their office, 274, 275.

Juries, some in Henry's II's reign, summoned as witnesses of the fact, v. 366.

K.

KNIGHTS Templars and Hospitallers, purchase a truce from Saladin, who was preparing to lead an army into the
the

the Holy Land, vi. 233; such of them as are taken at the battle of Tiberias are, by his orders, put to death, 277.

L.

LACY, Gilbert de, surprizes Nouredin in his camp, and totally defeats him, vi. 48.

Lacy, Hugh de, treats with Roderick O Conor, on the part of his master, and settles that monarch's terms of submission, v. 111, 112; is appointed by Henry, on his departure from Ireland, his justiciary or viceroy over that kingdom, 120; he receives from him a grant of the province of Meath, *ibid.* meets O Ruark at a conference, who treacherously attempts his life, 239, 240; is dismissed by Henry, from his lieutenancy of Ireland, 243; surrenders the custody of the city of Dublin to the earl of Pembroke, 363; he receives from Henry a fresh grant of the province of Meath, on condition of serving him and his son John, with an hundred knights, vi. 69; is appointed deputy of Ireland and governor of Dublin, 94; is dismissed, and called into England, 139; is reinstated in his government, 218; is again dismissed, and ordered into England; but excuses himself, and retires into Meath, 222; his dangerous designs, 245, 246; his death, 247.

Law, some account of the criminal law of England, and of judicial proceedings in civil and criminal matters, during the reign of Henry II. v. 275—319.

Leicester, is destroyed by an accidental fire, v. 164; is taken by Richard de Lucy, *ibid.*

Robert de Bellamont, earl of, his intrigues and defection, v. 163; is taken prisoner, 172; the governors of his castles deliver them up, fearing that the longer retention of them may be dangerous to his person, 198, 199; he is restored to his freedom, and to most of his former possessions, vi. 38; he and his countess are arrested, 172; he is released, 257.

Letters, remarkable ones, from the archbishop of Sens to the pope, v. 6; from John of Salisbury to the bishop of Poitiers, 12; from pope Adrian to Henry, 57—59; from Roderick king of Conaught to Dermot king of Leinster,

- Leinster, 90, 91; from the cardinal legates to the archbishop of Ravenna, 124, 125; from Henry to the Bishop of Exeter, *ibid.* from the archbishop of Rouen to Eleanor, Henry's queen, 142; to Henry from his ambassadors, containing Louis's answer, 143, 144; from Henry to the pope, 151; from Henry the young king to the monks of Canterbury, 202, 203; from Peter of Blois to Henry, vi. 39; from the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, to the same, 57, 58; from Peter of Blois to Henry, 110; from the archbishop of Canterbury to the pope, 112, 113; from the same to the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, and Ely, 115, 116; from the pope to the bishops of London and Winchester, 117; from Peter of Blois to Henry, 121, 122; from Henry to Ranulph de Glanville, 158; from the same to the bishop of Winchester, 159; from the archbishop of Canterbury to Henry the young king, 175, 176; from the pope to Henry, 211, 212; from the same to the same, 252; from Peter of Blois to Henry, 280; from the patriarch of Antioch to the same, with Henry's answer, 289, 290; from Henry to the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, with their answers, 308, 309; from the pope to Henry, 313; from the same to the same, 317.
- Limerick*, is stormed and taken by Raymond, v. 251; is besieged by Donald O Bryan, who being defeated by Raymond is constrained to retire, 254; is delivered to Donald, under an oath of fealty to Henry; but is treacherously set on fire by him, vi. 31, 32.
- Limoges*, castle of, is held out against Henry by Henry the young king and Geoffry duke of Bretagne, vi. 169—182; surrenders to him, *ibid.*
- Lincoln*, Hugh, a Carthusian monk, is elected bishop of, on the resignation of Geoffry, Henry's natural son, vi. 238, 239.
- Louis le Jeune*, king of France, is supposed to have been the first promoter and adviser of the rebellion and disobedience of Henry's children, v. 137; a remarkable saying of his on Henry's speedy return from Ireland into Normandy, *ibid.* an instance of his perfidy at Vernieu, 158, 159; he has an interview with Henry, 166; is constrained to raise the siege of Rouen, 208;

he confers with Henry, and agrees to treat with him about a peace in the ensuing September, 212; his answer to Henry's ambassadors, as reported by William of Newbury, 357, 358; a reason assigned for its supposed contents, *ibid.* promises to take Henry's dominions in France under his protection, during his absence in England, vi. 91; resolves to have his son Philip crowned; but is prevented by the sickness of that prince, 118; comes on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, 119; at his return, going to St. Denis, he has a stroke of the palsy, 120; his death and character, 127; is warned, by a pretended vision, to repair to Becket's tomb, 367, 368.

Lucius III. pope, succeeds Alexander in the pontificate, and takes off an interdict, laid by that pontiff, on the king of Scotland's dominions, vi. 152; sends nuncios to Henry, to obtain aid from him against his rebellious subjects, 195, 196; sends a mandatory letter to the monks of Canterbury, to chuse an archbishop within two months, 202, 203; refuses to grant a dispensation for the marriage of Matilda and the king of Scotland, 206; consecrates Cumin archbishop of Dublin, 224; his death, 233.

Lucy, Richard de, chief justiciary of England, takes Leicester, v. 164; marches to the relief of Carlisle, 165; penetrates into Lothian, and ravages that country, 166; concludes a truce with the Scotch, 170; invests Huntingdon, and on the garrison retiring into the castle, he erects a fort in order to blockade it, 179, 180; sends over the archdeacon of Poitiers to Henry, to hasten his return into England, 181; retires into a convent, vi. 121; his death and character, *ibid.*

Lusignan, Geoffry de, murders an intimate of duke Richard, 322; flies to his brother the king of Jerusalem to Tripoly, *ibid.* a mistake concerning him, by the writer of Saladin's life, 398.

— Guy de, marries Sibylla, sister to Baldwin IV. king of Jerusalem, by whom he is intrusted with the administration of public affairs, vi. 212; is dismissed by him for his insolence and ingratitude, 213; he recovers his former power on the death of Baldwin, 233; succeeds to the throne of Jerusalem, and renews the

the truce with Saladin for three years, *ibid.* is taken prisoner at the battle of Tiberias, 276; the city of Ascalon is delivered up by his queen as a ransom for him, 283; he is freed by Saladin, and takes up his residence at Tripoly, 311.

M.

MAC CARTHY, Dermot, prince of Desmond, submits and swears fealty to Henry v. 117; implores the assistance of Raymond, who reinstates him in his dominions, 255.

Mac Gulinan, Cormack, king of Munster and archbishop of Cashel, is slain in battle, v. 324; his will, 334.

Mac Dunleavy, king of Ulster, is defeated by John de Curcy, and obliged to fly from his capital, vi. 62, 63; he totally defeats Curcy's forces in a narrow pass, 96.

Mac Murogh, Dermot, king of Leinster, his tyranny and cruelty, v. 62; he carries off O Ruark's wife, 64; is obliged to fly into England, 65; he repairs to Henry then in Normandy, intreats his assistance, and offers to do him homage for his crown, 65, 66; an instance of his barbarous thirst of revenge, 76; he agrees to a convention with Roderick O Conor; but breaks it on the arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald, 79, 80; contends with Roderick for the sovereignty of the whole island, 91; his death and character, 94; it appears doubtful whether the act of cruelty ascribed to him, was done by him, or his father, vi. 380.

Magnus, the barefooted, king of Norway, invades Ireland, and is slain, v. 42, 43; his insolent message to Murogh O Bryan, 329.

Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, is the first Irish prelate that applies for a pall to the see of Rome, v. 53; his death, 54; an account of miracles pretended to have been wrought by him, 330—332.

Malek-salah, on the death of his father Noureddin, is declared sultan of Egypt, vi. 56; is dethroned by Saladin, 56, 57.

Mansel, Robert, a knight of Wales, assists Gilbert de Lacy in defeating the Mahometans, vi. 48.

- Margaret*, Henry the young king's queen, is crowned with him at Winchester, v. 132; is supposed to have been confined in the tower of London, 362.
- Matilda*, daughter to the duke of Saxony, is asked in marriage by William the Lyon, king of Scotland, vi. 193; demanded in like manner by the king of Hungary; but, after Henry's death, is married to the count of Perche, 251.
- Miracles*, pretended ones, said to have been wrought at Becket's tomb, v. 11, 12.
- Montesquieu*, notions of his concerning the fire ordeal, and trials by combat, censured, v. 364—366.
- Merville*, Hugh de, one of Becket's murderers, proofs of his being alive until the beginning of the reign of king John, v. 354—356.
- Mowbray*, lord Roger de, rebels, and applies to the king of Scotland for assistance, v. 176; submits to Henry, and offers to deliver to him his castle of Thirsk, 199; is pardoned, 200; he goes to the defence of the Holy Land, and remains there, vi. 259; is taken prisoner at the battle of Tiberias, 277.

N.

- NATURAL** history, some account of the most remarkable phenomena in it, from the death of Edward the Confessor to that of Henry II, vi. 428—440.
- Neuchatel*, besieged and taken by the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, v. 154.
- Nicholas*, cardinal, of Arragon, his audacious forgery of an oath, pretended by him to have been taken by Henry and his son the young king, v. 353.
- Norfolk*, Hugh Bigot, earl of, obtains a grant from Henry the young king, v. 147; receives the earl of Leicester into his castle of Framlingham, 169; joins him in his attempt upon Dunwich, where they meet with a repulse, 170; takes Haganeth Castle, *ibid.* takes and pillages Norwich, 181; submits to Henry, 196; obtains his pardon on certain conditions, 197.
- Normans*, their establishment and conquests in Italy and Sicily, vi. 7—27.

Northampton, the statutes of Clarendon confirmed in a parliament held there, v. 264; statutes received and enacted in that parliament, which the itinerant justices were sworn to observe, regulating judicial proceedings in cases of civil property, as well as the administration and execution of criminal justice, 274—279 (see Appendix, 406—410.)

—— Simon de Senlis, earl of, blockades Huntingdon, v. 179.

Noureddin, sultan of Aleppo, invades the territories of Antioch, and takes Harenc, vi. 44, 45; subdues the city of Damascus and its dependencies, *ibid.* is defeated by the king of Jerusalem, 46; is surprized in his camp, and beaten by Gilbert de Lacy, 48; defeats the Christians near Harenc, and overruns the whole principality of Antioch, 49; makes himself master of Egypt, 51, 52; gives orders to Saladin to depose the reigning caliph, 53, 54; his jealousy of Saladin, and his death, 55.

O.

O BRYAN, Donald, king of North Munster, makes war on Roderick O Conor, v. 88; submits, and swears fealty to Henry, 110; is defeated by Raymond, 255; confers with him, and renews his oath of fealty to Henry, *ibid.* receives Limerick in charge from Raymond, to hold it as one of Henry's barons, vi. 31; sets it on fire, 32; enters into a confederacy with Dermot Mac Carthy and Roderick, to expel the English out of Ireland, 225; defeats prince John, 228.

O Conor, Charles, Irish annals translated by him, and sent to the author of this work, an account of them, v. 337, 338.

—— Roderick, king of Conaught, declared monarch of all Ireland by an assembly of the states, v. 45; suppresses O Ruark's revolt, 63; is defeated in several engagements by Donald O Bryan, 81; he charges the king of Leinster with breach of treaties, and threatens to put his son, whom he retained as an hostage, to death, if he does not immediately restrain the incursions of the foreigners, 90, 91; executes his threat, *ibid.*

H h 3

confers

confers with De Lacy and Fitzaldelm, who are empowered by Henry to treat with him, and swears fealty to that prince, 111, 112; sends ambassadors to Henry, who agree to a convention of a remarkable nature, 256—259; defeats his rebel son Murtach, takes him prisoner, and causes his eyes to be put out, vi. 66; sends his son to Henry, under the care of Laurence O Tool, archbishop of Dublin, as an hostage for the due performance of the terms of the late convention, 138; retires into a convent, on account of the rebellion of his son Conor Manmoy, 221, 222; comes forth from his spiritual retreat, and recovers his throne, 225; resigns the reins of government, and again retires into a cloister, 209.

O Demy, chieftain of Ophally, defeats Strongbow, and takes the banner of Leinster, v. 242.

O Meey, is supposed to have been instigated by the Irish clergy to murder Hugh de Lacy, vi. 380.

O Ruark, invades the king of Leinster's dominions, and compels him to fly into England, v. 65; is appointed by Roderick temporary administrator of East Meath, 90; he repulses Dermot, who attempts to storm his camp, 93; submits to Henry, 111; attempts the life of Hugh de Lacy; but is killed by Gryffyth, a nephew of Maurice Fitzgerald, 240; his head is set up on the great gate of the castle of Dublin, and afterwards sent to Henry, 241; is improperly stiled king of Meath by the English historians, 339, 340.

Ostmen, their first establishment in Ireland, v. 35; they swear fealty, and agree to pay tribute, to the Irish monarchs, 39; their bishops were the first in Ireland, who owned themselves dependent in spiritual matters on the see of Rome, 52; they seem in general well affected to the English government, 122; an instance of great cruelty committed by those inhabiting Waterford, 248, 249.

P.

PAPARO, cardinal legate *à latere*, arrives in Ireland, with four palls, v. 54; he fixes the badge of subjection on the Irish metropolitan prelates, *ibid.*

Par-

Parliament, Irish, a remarkable declarative statute passed by it in Queen Elizabeth's time, v. 332, 333.

Pembroke, Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of, agrees to assist Dermod in the recovery of his dominions, v. 67; applies to Henry for liberty to engage in that undertaking, 82; sets sail from Milford Haven, and arrives in Ireland against Henry's express orders, 85; takes Waterford by storm, and is married to Eva, Dermod's eldest daughter, 86, 87; he and Dermod march to Dublin, and take it by storm, 89; he dispatches Raymond to Henry, and mitigates that monarch's displeasure by making him a tender of all his acquisitions in Ireland, 93; on the death of his father-in-law Dermod, he succeeds to the kingdom of Leinster, 94; defeats the Irish under the command of Roderick, with a very inferior force, 99, 100; defeats O Ryan chieftain of Irdone, 101; waits upon Henry in England, 103; holds the kingdom of Leinster from him, as a fief of the English crown, *ibid.* is defeated by O Dempsey, on retiring out of that prince's territories, 242; is intrusted by Henry with the custody of the castle of Gisors, *ibid.* appointed deputy of Ireland, 243; Stanihurst's account of his putting his son to death rejected, 341, 342; his death, vi. 30.

Peter of Blois, his letter to the pope no proof of Henry's dependence on the see of Rome, v. 358—360.

Petraria, engines used in sieges, resembling the catapultæ of the ancients, vi. 389; accounts of their prodigious force, 390.

Philip, king of France, is crowned at Rheims in the life-time of his father, vi. 120; marries a daughter of the earl of Hainault, 125; renews with Henry the subsidiary compact entered into with his father, 126; succeeds him in the throne, 127; desires the mediation of Henry in a dispute with the earl of Flanders, 141; compromises a dispute with Henry, concerning the dower of his sister, the young queen of England, and the possession of Gisors and the Norman Vexin, 187, 188; compels the earl of Flanders to submit to very disadvantageous terms, 198, 199; presses Henry to permit the marriage between the princess Adalais his sister and duke Richard, and extorts from him a promise,

- upon oath, for its performance, 236; his grief on the death of Geoffry duke of Bretagne, 249; he demands the custody of the heiress of that duchy from Henry, 255; grants him a truce, 256; at the expiration of which, he renews his former demands, and peremptorily insists on their being complied with, 261; confers with Henry on the disputes subsisting between them, and takes the cross, 291; complains to Henry of Richard's making war on the earl of Toulouse, 324; makes war on Henry in Berry, 325; refuses to make any concessions to Henry, and declares his intentions of annexing to his royal demesnes the whole province of Berry and the Norman Vexin, 327; confers with him near Gisors; but a quarrel arising between their attendants, he obliges Henry to take refuge in the castle; 329; his remarkable reply to the pope's legate, on the latter's threatening to lay his dominions under an interdict, 336; he takes Mans and Tours, 339—342; concludes a peace with Henry, 343.
- Pictures*, one made by the Christians, representing Christ scourging by an Arab, vi. 388, 389; another painted by the order of Conrade of Montserrat, in which a Mahometan horseman is drawn, with the feet of his horse trampling and treading on the holy sepulchre, *ibid.*
- Poer*, Robert de, is appointed by Henry, governor of Waterford, vi. 72.
- Port*, Adam de, being arraigned for high treason, flies the realm, and is outlawed, v. 137; is fined and pardoned, 356.
- Prendergast*, Maurice de, his noble behaviour and gratitude to Donald chieftain of Ossory, v. 342—346.
- Public fame*, how far it was a legal foundation for a criminal prosecution, v. 369.

Q.

- QUINEY*, Robert de, son-in-law to Strongbow, is slain, v. 242.

RAYMOND,

R.

RAYMOND, Fitzgerald, nephew to Maurice, arrives in Ireland, and is attacked by the Ostmén of Waterford and the natives; but gains a signal victory over them, v. 82—85; is called by the voice of the soldiery to the supreme command of the army in Ireland, 245; he defeats Dermot Mac Carthy near Lismore, 246; demands Basilea, Strongbow's sister, in marriage; but, on being refused, retires into England in disgust, *ibid.* is intreated by that earl to return, who promises to grant his request, 248; he arrives near Waterford, and relieves Strongbow, who is closely besieged in that city, *ibid.* his nuptials are solemnized, 249; he defeats Donald king of Limerick, and takes that city by storm, 250, 251; is ordered by Henry to attend him in Normandy, in order to justify himself, 253; he reinstates Dermot Mac Carthy in his kingdom of Cork, 255; relieves Fitzstephen besieged in that city, vi. 220.

—— de Poitiers, prince of Antioch, uncle to Eleanor, Henry's queen, is killed, vi. 44.

Records, relating to the family of Gerald Mac Gillemory in Birmingham Tower, Dublin, v. 347—349; to itinerant justices, taken from Madox's History of the Exchequer, 397—406.

Regan, Maurice, interpreter to Dermot king of Leinster, reasons for not believing him to have been the author of the historical poem, and for rejecting the matter it contains in most particulars, v. 334—336.

Rhees ap Gryffyth, prince of South Wales, ravages the territories of Owen Cevilioc, one of Henry's vassals; but, on the latter's going into that neighbourhood, he submits to him, v. 105, 106; is appointed by Henry his chief justice in South Wales, 124; he lays siege to Tutbury Castle, held by the rebels, 180; exercises the power lately intrusted to him by Henry with equal prudence and fidelity, 233; prevails upon Jorwerth to submit to Henry, and obtains from him his pardon, *ibid.* makes a great feast at his castle of Cardigan, vi.

74, 75; he and most of the Welsh princes are entertained by Henry at Oxford, *ibid.* rebels, but, on Henry's preparing to march against him, he submits, 200, 201; agrees with Ranulph de Glanville to assist Henry with forces in the French wars, 257.

Richard, duke of Aquitaine, second son to Henry, enters into a conspiracy with his mother and brothers, to dethrone his father, v. 146; returns to his obedience, 212; raises powerful levies, by his father's assistance, to chastise the rebels of Guienne, vi. 3; defeats an army of Brabanters, and compels the rebels to submit, 3, 4; sends the prisoners to his father, *ibid.* refuses to do homage to Henry the young king for Aquitaine, 163; observations thereupon, 163—166; does homage to his father for that duchy, after the death of Henry the young king, 186; refuses to deliver up Aquitaine to his brother John, 187; returns into Poitou, 209, 210; receives a mandate from Henry, to deliver up the duchy of Aquitaine to his mother, which he obeys, 230; makes war on the earl of Toulouse, 237; refuses to do homage to Philip king of France for the duchy of Aquitaine, 264; enters into the greatest intimacy with that prince, and accompanies him to Paris, 267; seizes his father's treasures in Touraine, 268; takes the cross, 281; chastises his rebellious subjects, 322; makes war on the earl of Toulouse, 324; refuses to deliver up his conquests in that country, 330; presses his father for his permission to wed the princess Adalais, 330, 331; is abetted by Philip in insisting that an oath of fealty shall be taken to him, as heir apparent, by all his father's liege subjects in England, and in his transmarine dominions, *ibid.* he does homage to Philip for Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, 333; assists him in making war on his father, 334; attacks the earldom of Maine, and assists Philip in taking Mans and Tours, 338—341; concludes a peace with his father, in conjunction with Philip, 342, 343; revives the practice of tournaments in England, 367; instances of his extraordinary prowess, 384, 385; the opinion conceived of him by the Arabian writer of Saladin's life, 386.

Roger,

Roger, son of Robert Guiscard, succeeds him in his dominions, vi. 15; joins with his uncle Roger, count of Sicily, in obtaining sovereignty over Capua, 16; his death, 17.

—— count of Sicily, receives the investiture of that earldom from his brother Robert Guiscard, vi. 13; his death, 17.

—— the second count of Sicily, on the decease of his cousin William de Hauteville, takes possession of all that prince's dominions, vi. 17; after a contest with pope Honorius, he enjoys them undisturbed, 18; receives from pope Anaclet a grant of Capua and Naples, as well as of the realm of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, 18, 19; is attacked by pope Innocent, whom he takes prisoner, *ibid.* and is confirmed by him in his former possessions and title, 20; he extends his commerce and increases his maritime power, and takes Malta, 22; his death, *ibid.*

Roland, on the death of Gilbert chieftain of Galloway, subdues that country; but, on Henry's marching against him, submits, and takes an oath of fealty to him, vi. 242—244.

Rouen, besieged by the king of France and the earl of Flanders, v. 204—207; is relieved by Henry, 207, 208.

S.

ST. ALBAN, Robert de, makes an attempt to surprize Jerusalem, but is repulsed, vi. 232, 233.

St. Petruc, his body stolen by a monk, and carried into Bretagne, vi. 397.

Saladin, is made foldan of Egypt, vi. 52; ordered by Nouredin to depose the reigning caliph, 53; his policy in the distribution of the late caliph's treasures, 54; he dispossesses Malecfalah of all his territories, 56, 57; makes himself master of Aleppo and its whole principality, 214; attacks the knights templars, and defeats them, 272, 273; storms the city of Tiberias, *ibid.* defeats the Christians near that city, 274—276; takes the castle of Tiberias and city of Ptolemais, 279;

- 279; takes Jerusalem, 284; his humanity to the sick and wounded prisoners, 285; he lays siege to Tyre, which is valiantly defended by Conrade, who obliges him to raise it with disgrace, 287, 288; he wins from the Christians the cities of Gabala and Laodicea and the greater part of the principality of Antioch, 309, 310; his humanity and liberality, 388.
- Scotland*, freeholders, fewer in that kingdom in proportion to the number of its inhabitants than in England, and why, v. 363.
- Statute*, a remarkable one, passed in the reign of Richard III. concerning Ireland, vi. 71.
- Synod*, a national one convened at Cashell, by a royal mandate from Henry, wherein several canons were ratified by him, v. 113, 114; at Waterford, in which pope Adrian's bull, conveying Ireland to Henry, is publicly read and assented to, 251, 252; at Westminster, by Henry's permission, enacting several canons collected from foreign councils and from papal decrees, vi. 108—110; at Dublin, wherein Cumin archbishop of that city presides, in order to inquire into and regulate the manner and discipline of the Irish church, 319, 320.

T.

- TANISTRY**, some account of it, v. 26.
- Tripoly*, Raymond, earl of, is taken prisoner by Nouredin, vi. 49; appointed guardian to Baldwin IV. king of Jerusalem, 55; is a second time constituted regent of that kingdom, 214; his shameful flight from the battle of Tiberias, 275; his death, 289; is exculpated of the charges brought against him by his enemies, 386, 387.
- Tryals*, by ordeal, v. 277—281; by duel, 281—302; by a jury, 302—314; in the court of chivalry, 314—317.
- Tuam*, archbishop of, arrives in England, on an embassy to Henry from Roderick O Conor, v. 238.

Tyre,

Tyre, William, archbishop of, commended as an historian, vi. 291; he preaches the crusade in Germany, 304.

Tyrone, Con. O Neal, earl of, curses his posterity if they should ever erect edifices of stone or brick, vi. 360.

U.

URBAN III. pope, grants a bull to Henry, empowering him to cause any one of his sons he should chuse to be crowned king of Ireland, vi. 253; threatens to excommunicate the kings of France and England if they do not desist from making war on each other, 266, 267; his death, 281.

Vandome, taken by Henry, and restored to its earl, whom the rebels had dispossessed of it, v. 173.

Vernuil, besieged and treacherously set on fire by Louis king of France, v. 155—159.

Vivian, cardinal, legate from the pope to Scotland and Ireland, endeavours to mediate a peace between Mac Dunlovy and Curcy; but, finding the latter averse to it, exhorts the Irish to defend themselves, vi. 62; holds a synod at Dublin, to whom he declares the pope's confirmation of Henry's right to the sovereignty of that kingdom, 63.

W.

WELSH, a land south west of Ireland, supposed to have been part of the American continent, said to have been discovered by Madoc, one of their princes, in the reign of Henry II. vi. 399; grounds of that opinion examined, 400—402.

Wexford, surrenders to Fitzstephen, v. 74, 75; is fired, and deserted by its inhabitants, 102.

William (surnamed the Bad) king of Sicily, is excommunicated by pope Adrian IV. vi. 23; he loses the greatest part of his Italian dominions, *ibid.* the evil effects of his government, 25, 26; he kills his infant son, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.*

William (surnamed the Good), asks Jane, Henry's youngest daughter, in marriage, vi. 27; obtains his consent; but they are not married till the next year, 29; his bequests to Henry. 394, 395.

—— de Hauteville, succeeds his father Roger in the duchies of Apulia and Calabria, vi. 17.

—— (surnamed the Lyon), king of Scotland, makes an irruption into Cumberland, lays siege to Carlisle, and commits the most merciless depredations in the northern parts of Yorkshire, v. 164, 165; most cruelly ravages Northumberland, blockades Carlisle, and takes the castles of Harbottle, Warkworth, and Liddel, 175, 176; sits down before Alnwick, and again ravages Northumberland, 178; is surprized and taken prisoner, 194; ordered into close confinement by Henry, 198; signs a convention, by which he promises to pay him liege homage for his kingdom, 220—223; attends Henry at York, accompanied by the states of his realm, where he spontaneously renews and solemnly ratifies its contents, 234, 235; delivers up Gilbert the rebellious chieftain of Galloway to Henry, vi. 36, 37; banishes John Scott, 151; is married to Ermengarde, Henry's kinswoman, on whom he settles the castle of Edinburgh as a dower, 250; he demands from Henry the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, 300; his subjects deny their dependance on the English church, 301; his disputes with the see of Rome concerning the archbishopric of St. Andrews, 316—318.

—— 1. (surnamed the Conqueror), king of England, laws of his, v. 410—412; 414—425.

Winchester, bishop of, lays before Henry a faithful representation of the state of his affairs in England, v. 182.

Worcester, Philip de, is appointed by Henry deputy of Ireland, vi. 222; marches into Ulster, levies contributions there, and returns to Dublin, leaving that province under Curcy's guard and rule, 222—224.

Y.

388, archbishop of, is cruelly treated, at a synod held at Westminster, by the monks of Canterbury and the domestics of the archbishop of that see, v. 267; his death, vi. 154; his opinion of a monastic life, 155, 156.



There being in the Four First Volumes of this Octavo Edition, a great Number of false Prints, I shall here mark them out, with the proper Corrections.

False Prints in Volume L

Page. Line.

- 14. 5. instead of *agreeable* read *agreeably*.
- 21. 4. before *language* leave out *a*.
- 26. 4. from the bottom, instead of *they* read *be*.
- 28. 12. instead of *council* read *counsel*.
- 51. 8. instead of *exceeding* read *exceedingly*.
- 64. 7. from the bottom, instead of *fealty* read *fealty*.
- 148. 12. instead of *bad granted* read *bad formerly granted*.
- 149. 9. instead of *could ever obtain* read *can ever obtain*.
- 159. 4. after *and* leave out *of*.
- 162. 2. after *alarm* leave out *they*.
- 183. 16. from the bottom, instead of *kinz of France* read *king himself*.
- 226. 8. instead of *mediatress* read *mediatrix*.
- 230. 1. instead of *after* read *afterwards*.
- 333. 12. from the bottom, instead of *William Ipres* read *William of Ipres*.

In the Notes at the End of Volume I.

- 355. 13. instead of *as to a place* read *as a place*.
- 356. 15. instead of *hereditariam* read *hereditarium*.
- 360. 5. instead of *celebratatem* read *celebritatem*.
- 361. 6. instead of *perfectionis* read *profectionis*.
- 9. instead of *filium* read *filiam*.
- 363. last line, instead of *adjuvari* read *adjuvari*.
- 369. 19. instead of *sacerit* read *sacerit*.
- 392. 3. instead of *canon* read *canons*.
- 401. 9. from the bottom, instead of *calls* read *cites*.
- 409. 13. instead of *did personally* read *did not personally*.
- 412. last line, instead of *condidit* read *contendit*.
- 413. 7. from the bottom, instead of *fidelitur* read *fideliter*.
- 415. 6. from the bottom, instead of *sasumpti* read *assumpti*.

Page. Line.

418. 17. from the bottom, instead of *in the hands* read *into the hands*.
 426. 15. instead of *hac* read *has*.
 430. 3. instead of *magno valde* read *valde magno*.
 444. 7. from the bottom, instead of *homages* read *homage*.
 447. 15. from the bottom, leave out *a* before *mifery*.
 449. instead of *notes* to read *notes on*.
 451. 17. instead of *had any time* read *had at any time*.
 455. 4. after *but* insert *had been*.

Appendix, Volume I.

463. 11. from the bottom, instead of *XX.* read *XV*.
 467. 11. instead of *observandum* read *observandam*.
 48. 8. instead of *bis* read *biis*.
 469. 3. instead of *biberas* read *liberas*.
 470. 5. instead of *reges* read *regis*.
 474. 7. put an *apostrophe* between the *r* and *s* in *masters*, to make it the genitive case.
 476. 15. instead of *retatus* read *reſtatus*.
 17. instead of *retatus* read *reſtatus*.
 482. 18. instead of *ejuſdam* read *ejuſdem*.
 484. 11. instead of *Rex regnum* read *Rex regum*.
 486. 11. instead of *Albate* read *Abbate*.
 487. 6. instead of *und* read *unde*.

Error in the Reference, Volume I.

420. 12. from the bottom, in the reference to the text from the notes, instead of 89 read 90.

False Stopping in the first Volume, which hurts the Sense.

148. 13. from the bottom, after *persons* leave out the *comma*.
 167. 3. from the bottom, leave out the *comma* after *but*, and insert one after *be*.
 183. 16. from the bottom, after *earl of Blois* put a *colon*.
 358. 14. after *occurrences* leave out the *comma*.
 391. 17. after *advantage* leave out the *comma*.
 15. from the bottom, after *that* put a *comma*.
 406. 2. after *silver* put a *comma*.
 415. 14. after *crown* put a *comma*.
 13. from the bottom, after *volens* put a *comma*.
 9. from the bottom, after *considerations* put a *comma*.
 416. 14. from the bottom, leave out the *comma* after *cepiſſis*, and put one after *fuiſſis*.

Page. Line.

419. 3. from the bottom, after *witch* put a comma.
 420. 3. from the bottom, after *prince* put a comma.
 459. 3. after *but* put a comma.
 5. after *general* instead of the semicolon put a comma.
 15. after *that* put a comma.
 10. from the bottom, after *that* put a comma.
 460. 1. after *Stephen* put a comma.
 465. 7. after *defensionem* leave out the comma.
 7. from the bottom, after *suas* put a comma.
 469. 7. after *civitatis nostris* put a comma.
 8. after *vallatis* put a comma; and, in the same line, put another after *castris nostris*.
 477. 7. from the bottom, after *Edwardi* put a comma.

Some of these false Prints are also in the former Editions in Quarto; but I likewise find in some places Inaccuracies of my own, which had escaped my attention when I published those Editions, and which, upon a revival, I now desire to correct by the following Alterations.

51. 2. instead of *being read* *having been*.
 53. 13. instead of *with the desires of the countess* read *with the countess*.
 184. 14. from the bottom, leave out *several*.
 166. 6. from the bottom, after *delivered* leave out *up*.
 168. 11. after *him* leave out *at home*.
 175. 2. after *and* insert *took her again to*.
 264. 3. leave out *the subsistence of*.
 394. 3. instead of *went to the court of Offa* read *went to Offa*.
 398. 3. from the bottom, instead of *his* read *Robert's*.
 420. 13. after *other gentlemen* leave out *with him*.
 434. 9. leave out *a clock*.
 448. 14. instead of *was* read *is*; and, in the succeeding line, instead of *that he who was born of an English princess* read *that a prince, born of an English princess*.
 480. 14. instead of *statute* read *charter*.
 12. from the bottom, instead of *I shall say more of it in my third volume* read *Of these jurisdictions I shall say more in another part of this work*.
 6. from the bottom, instead of *statute* read *charter*.

False Prints in Volume II.

Page. Line.

2. 8. from the bottom, after *that change which*, part of a paragraph is left out, and makes the whole nonsense. It ought to run thus, *nor did he merely employ fair appearances, or smooth words, to reconcile the inclinations of the people to that change which his sword had effected; but, in those parts of the country which had espoused his sister's cause, he tried, &c.*
8. 15. instead of *adjoining* read *joining*.
14. 12, after *legate* insert *and*.
30. 4. from the bottom, instead of *the port* read *the Norman port*.
32. 7. after *or* leave out *of*.
33. 4. after *put* leave out *him*.
45. 10. from the bottom, instead of *autum* read *autumn*.
74. 13. from the bottom, instead of *governor's* read *governors*.
75. 2. after *of* leave out *a*.
77. 8. from the bottom, after *but* insert *be*.
91. 16. instead of *his* read *this*.
105. 12. instead of *utmost* read *most*.
126. 4. from the bottom, instead of *having sometime staid* read *having staid some time*.
138. 7. after *in* leave out *his*.
158. 16. instead of *produced* read *produce*.
17. instead of *distrust* read *distrust*.
174. 13. instead of *dangerous* read *generous*.
183. 12. after *his* leave out *own*.
185. 1. instead of *agreeable* read *agreeably*.
217. 3. instead of *has been before told* read *has before been told*.
223. 12. from the bottom, instead of *disappointed* read *disappointment*.
234. 13. instead of *extends* read *extend*.
255. 2. from the bottom, instead of *this circumstance* read *his circumstances*.
276. 8. instead of *seemed* read *seeming*.
292. 12. instead of *their* read *his*.

Page. Line.

312. 10. instead of *a prince of narrow* read *a prince of a narrow*.
 12. from the bottom, instead of *own* read *whole*.
 318. 13. after *pardoned* insert *for*.
 321. 2. from the bottom, instead of *would be his* read *would have been so by his*.
 322. last line, instead of *his* read *this*.
 328. 13. from the bottom, instead of *the of* read *the earl of*.
 329. 5. from the bottom, instead of *Demete* read *Demetæ*.
 331. 12. after *again* read *extended*.
 342. 15. instead of *armor* read *armour*.
 7. from the bottom, instead of *we recompelled* read *were compelled*.
 347. 12. after *gentleman* insert *whom*.
 14. instead of *his* read *the*.
 352. 3. from the bottom, instead of *provinces* read *princes*.
 365. 5. after *by* insert *the*.
 367. 2. from the bottom, instead of *sometime* read *some time*.
 384. 4. from the bottom, instead of *deliberating* read *deliberated*.
 429. 5. instead of *exigence* read *exigencies*.
 433. 4. from the bottom, instead of *near* read *nearly*; and, in the next line, leave out *the second of*.

Notes at the End of Volume II.

478. 15. from the bottom, instead of *rebellionem* read *rebellionum*; and, in the following line, instead of *suspicionem* read *suspicionum*.
 479. 9. instead of *primas* read *primus*.
 483. last line, instead of *hereditare* read *hereditari*.
 485. 3. instead of *of earldom* read *of the earldom*.
 489. 16. from the bottom, instead of *notes* to read *notes on*.
 490. 10. from the bottom, leave out the second *some*.
 492. 13. instead of *Britons* read *Bretons*.
 8. from the bottom, instead of *two grand alliances* read *the two grand alliances*.
 498. 19. after *may* leave out *of*.
 499. 17, 18. instead of *paid to king* read *paid to the king*.
 500. 3. from the bottom, leave out the second *that*.
 501. 17. from the bottom, instead of *commony* read *commonly*.
 13. from the bottom, after *knights's fee* insert *and*.
 10. from the bottom, instead of *escauge* read *escuage*.
 503. 12. instead of *Pillavium* read *Pillaviam*.

Page. Line.

Appendix, Volume II.

511. 6. instead of *artificii* read *artifici*.
 512. 4. instead of *exorsum* read *exosum*.
 515. 2. instead of *ipsum* read *ipsum*.
 516. 19. instead of *Ebi.* read *Ebr.*

Errors in the References.

478. 4. of the notes, in the reference to the text, instead of 293. read 294.
 479. first line, instead of 311. read 310.
 14. instead of 314. read 312.
 486. 3. instead of 333. read 332.
 7. from the bottom, instead of *ibid.* read 333.
 In the marginal reference in N^o III. of the Appendix, for p. 262. read p. 425, 426.

False Stopping in the Second Volume, which hurts the Sense.

18. 4. after *action* put a comma.
 24. 11. from the bottom, after *before* put a full stop.
 27. last line, after *connivance* put a comma.
 38. 10. from the bottom, after *person* put a full stop, and begin the next period with a great *A*.
 135. 12. after *churches* put a comma.
 144. 15. after *garrison* put a comma.
 187. 9. from the bottom, after *formed* put a comma.
 204. 2. from the bottom, after *subsistence* put a comma.
 209. 18. after *manner* put a comma.
 223. 5. after *opinion* leave out the comma.
 345. 13. from the bottom, after *bomage* put a full stop, and mark the beginning of the next period with a great *H*.
 458. 9. after *cæpit* put a full stop.
 501. 6. from the bottom, after 40s. put a semicolon, and begin *that* with a small *i*.

Further Corrections by the Author in Volume II.

32. 13. instead of *the earl of Anjou* read *Geoffry*.
 15. from the bottom, leave out *natural*.
 51. 3. from the bottom, leave out *confidently*, and instead of *it* read *the stream*.
 52. 5. after *remembered* leave out *that there had been*.

Page. Line.

53. 5. part of the paragraph beginning at this line should run thus, *stopped all access to it from the neighbouring country.*
77. 4. from the bottom, instead of *while the earl read while he.*
78. 16. from the bottom, instead of *he* read *Zenghi.*
95. 16. instead of *defer* read *confer*; and, in the next line, instead of *to* read *on.*
186. in the last line and the first of next page, instead of *and as for Matilda, she gave up,* read *and Matilda gave up.*
187. 6. after *than* leave out *she could* and the comma.
8. from the bottom, instead of *to the duties* read *to all the regal duties,* and leave out *of the high rank he was born to.*
191. 5. from the bottom, instead of *he* read *that minister.*
213. 2. instead of *have been* read *he.*
4. instead of *have prevented* read *prevent.*
335. 9. instead of *several* read *respective.*
369. 12. instead of *this reign* read *that king.*
429. 4. from the bottom, after *which* leave out *was*; and, in the following line, after *continued* leave out *for.*
485. 3. from the bottom, instead of *that ditch* read *the ditch,* and instead of *it* read *the law.*

False Prints in Volume III.

Page. Line.

1. 4. 5. from the bottom, before *imperial* insert *the*.
 6. 11. from the bottom, instead of *none* read *one*.
 14. 8. from the bottom, instead of *the* read *his*.
 26. 11. from the bottom, instead of *disease* read *decease*.
 36. 2. instead of *into* read *in*.
 42. 13. instead of *that* read *they*; and, in the succeeding line, instead of *taken* read *taking*.
 44. 15. instead of *convert* read *convent*.
 47. 17. instead of *coctinued* read *continued*.
 50. 8. from the bottom, after *other* leave out *it*.
 64. 10. from the bottom, instead of *compliment* read *complement*.
 70. 7. from the bottom, after *has* insert *cited*.
 71. 9. from the bottom, before *Exchequer* insert *the*.
 74. 3. after *and* insert *his*.
 78. 4. from the bottom, before *Saxon* insert *our*.
 80. 5, 6. from the bottom, instead of *given him* read *given to him*.
 84. 13. instead of *insfuduation* read *infuduation*.
 90. 10. instead of *by* read *to*.
 102. 12. instead of *admit* read *permit*.
 104. 7. instead of *the* read *his*.
 105. 17. after *demands* leave out *of*.
 13. from the bottom, instead of *contradistied* read *contrasted*.
 109. 9. from the bottom, instead of *all the fiefs* read *all fiefs*.
 110. 14. instead of *succeeded* read *succeeding*.
 112. 15. from the bottom, instead of *will I* read *I will*.
 113. 10. from the bottom, instead of *Littleton* read *Lyttelton*.
 118. 10. from the bottom, leave out the *second* it.
 3. from the bottom, instead of *or* read *of*.
 122. 15, 16. instead of *preserve tenure* read *preserve the tenure*.
 5. from the bottom, instead of *socage* read *soage*.
 2. from the bottom, instead of *whom* read *which*.
 123. 17. after *but* insert *the*.
 128. 2. from the bottom, instead of *opinion of* read *opinion in*.

Page. Line.

129. 16. instead of *contrasts* read *contracts*.
 14. from the bottom, instead of *in the other* read *in other*.
 132. 7. from the bottom, instead of *in case of poorer* read *in case of the poorer*.
 133. 3. instead of *Gloucester* read *Glocester*.
 13. from the bottom, instead of *Montagne* read *Mortagne*.
 137. 6. instead of *or to a certain* read *or a certain*.
 138. 11. instead of *the crown* read *crown lands*.
 139. 14. instead of *as much* read *are much*.
 141. 14. instead of *forcing* read *foreign*.
 142. 13. from the bottom, instead of *bad land honour* read *bad a land honour*.
 144. 16. after *held* insert *them*.
 150. 7. from the bottom, write *forfeiture* with a small *f*.
 152. 8. instead of *latter* read *former*; and, in the succeeding line, instead of *former* read *latter*.
 153. 6, 7. from the bottom, instead of *son Nigel* read *son of Nigel*.
 157. 15. from the bottom, instead of *socage* read *socage*.
 159. 3. after *good* insert *and*.
 160. 9. instead of *maintainance* read *maintenance*.
 164. 16. from the bottom, instead of *equitas* read *equites*.
 167. 15. from the bottom, instead of *willains* read *villeins*.
 168. 6. instead of *possibly* read *positively*.
 13. from the bottom, *Guillaume le Breton* should not be printed in *italics*.
 171. 7. instead of *body* read *bodies*.
 172. 8. from the bottom, after *and* leave out *in*.
 174. 16. instead of *law was* read *was law*.
 179. 2. from the bottom, instead of *Augusta* read *Augustus*.
 184. 1. after *army* insert *and*.
 185. 13. from the bottom, instead of *hid* read *did*.
 186. 6. from the bottom, instead of *as these* read *as of these*.
 187. 17. instead of *law* read *laws*.
 189. 9. from the bottom, read *villenagio*.
 191. 15. from the bottom, instead of *proscription* read *pre-
 cription*.
 8. from the bottom, instead of *Brasbon* read *Bracton*.
 194. 16. instead of *freemen* read *freeman*.
 196. 1. instead of *our* read *the*.
 3. instead of *disponers* read *disponours*.
 202. 15. instead of *counties* read *countries*.
 8. from the bottom, instead of *enriched* read *enriched*.
 203. 14. instead of *at read on*.

Page. Line.

205. 1. instead of *yet* read *but*.
 14. from the bottom, instead of *twenty-two* read *twenty-eight*.
 210. 13. from the bottom, instead of *prefaces on* read *prefaces to*.
 211. 4. instead of *law* read *laws*.
 212. 1. instead of *this* read *his*.
 5, 6. after *additions* insert *which*.
 16. before *all* leave out *and*.
 214. 14. from the bottom, instead of *had been* read *had not been*.
 215. 15, 16. from the bottom, instead of *the advice of his subjects* read *the advice of each of his subjects*.
 216. 15. from the bottom, instead of *as by* read *or by*.
 217. 9. instead of *of original* read *of the original*.
 219. 16. after *called* leave out *in*.
 15. from the bottom, instead of *tribute* read *tribune*.
 220. 10. from the bottom, instead of *being* read *been*.
 222. 10. from the bottom, instead of *traces* read *trace*.
 224. 10. instead of *of lower* read *of a lower*.
 234. 6. from the bottom, instead of *then any army* read *than in army*.
 235. 1. instead of *in community* read *in the community*.
 236. 16. instead of *minorites* read *minorities*.
 246. 12. instead of *were* read *was*.
 250. 6. from the bottom, instead of *rose* read *arose*.
 251. 13. from the bottom, instead of *wood* read *wood*.
 255. 2. instead of *were* read *was*.
 259. 11, 12. instead of *commonality* read *commonalty*.
 267. 10. from the bottom, instead of *absolute* read *absolute*.
 276. 15. from the bottom, instead of *these* read *those*.
 277. 6. instead of *to the synods* read *to synods*.
 278. 8, 9. instead of *in* read *into*.
 11. from the bottom, instead of *talliate* read *talliate*.
 279. 1. instead of *an ancient* read *the ancient*.
 281. 8. from the bottom, instead of *with* read *in*.
 300. 5. from the bottom, print *or his hawk* in italics.

False Prints in the Notes at the End of Volume III.

In the running title, read *notes on* instead of *notes to*.

314. 19. instead of *dom* read *kingdom*.
 318. last line, instead of *folknote* read *folknote*.
 319. 2. from the bottom, instead of *geris* read *geri*.
 320. 2. Instead of *Hiraldus* read *Haraldus*.
 326. 17. instead of *aliorum* read *aliorum*.

Page. Line.

332. 16. from the bottom, instead of *a more right* read *more right*.
335. 2. from the bottom, before *that* instead of *it* read *in*.
340. 14. from the bottom, instead of *tenans* read *tenens*.
3. 4. from the bottom, instead of *diffidere* read *diffidare*.
344. 12. from the bottom, instead of *injuries* read *injurias*, and instead of *ipfus* read *ipfis*.
11. from the bottom, instead of *invita* read *inviti*.
345. 15, 16. instead of *subditor* read *subditos*.
346. 2. instead of *capit* read *caput*.
347. 8. from the bottom, instead of *Montagne* read *Mortagne*.
350. last line, instead of *to* read *on*.
352. 9. from the bottom, instead of *bulariis* read *bularius*.
354. 5. from the bottom, instead of *and condu* read *and a conduct*.
358. 10. instead of *a equipage* read *an equipage*.
359. 9. from the bottom, after *excelled* insert *that gentleman*.
3. from the bottom, instead of *one the* read *one of the*.
366. 10. from the bottom, instead of *was* read *were*.
377. 10. from the bottom, instead of *in old* read *in the old*.
379. last line, instead of *militas* read *militis*.
387. 4. instead of *libertatem* read *libertatum*.
391. 3. instead of *be* read *be*.
394. 13. instead of *mander* read *manner*.
15. instead of *decomitatu* read *de comitatu*; and, in the same line, instead of *bundrida* read *bundreda*.
395. 18. instead of *des enemanto* read *de tonemento*.
396. 5. instead of *state* read *statute*.
422. 9. instead of *counsels* read *councils*.
4. from the bottom, instead of *numerosum* read *numerosum*.
423. 3. instead of *veribus* read *viribus*.
6. from the bottom, instead of *nonnullis* read *nonnullis*.
424. 6. instead of *ipse ferrens* read *ipse referrens*.
425. 15. instead of *Die* read *Dei*.
428. 17. instead of *nonnulli* read *nonnulla*.
433. 10. after *from* leave out *all*.
436. 13. from the bottom, instead of *silence* read *silence*.
437. 16. instead of *it* read *id*.
439. 12. instead of *Gainington* read *Godington*.
440. 5. from the bottom, instead of *counsel* read *council*.
446. 5. instead of *innumero* read *innumera*.
447. 12. instead of *and better* read *and a better*.
455. 5. instead of *nor an complaints* read *nor any complaints*.
456. 12. after the second *nec* insert *ad*.

Page. Line.

462. 12. instead of *into* read *in*.
 463. 6. instead of *counsel* read *council*.
 467. 16. from the bottom, instead of *statutem* read *statutum*.
 468. 12, 13. from the bottom, leave out the second *into*.
 471. 7. instead of *these* read *those*.
 8. from the bottom, instead of *or to be* read *or be*.
 481. 15. instead of *Guillaume de Breton* read *Guillaume le Breton*.
 484. 5. instead of *then* read *thence*.

In the Appendix, Volume III.

488. 12. from the bottom, in the note, for *this time* read *his time*.
 493. 10. from the bottom, instead of *et* read *es*.

Errors in the References.

In the marginal reference N° II. of the appendix, for *p. 101.* read *p. 265.*

In N° III. instead of *p. 103.* read *p. 272.*

N° VI. instead of *p. 109.* read *p. 278.*

N° VII. instead of *p. 281.* read *282.*; see also vol. I. *p. 371, 372.*

N° VIII. instead of *p. 282. volume* read *p. 282. of this volume.*

False Stops which hurt the Sense.

8. 9. from the bottom, instead of a *semicolon* after *council* put a *comma*.
 6. from the bottom, after *day* instead of a *colon* put a *comma*.
 14. 8. from the bottom, after *for* put a *comma*.
 32. 16. after *monarchs* leave out the *comma*.
 49. 16. after *babies* leave out the *comma*.
 52. 5. from the bottom, leave out the *comma* after *strength*.
 60. 11. after *occasions* put a *full stop* instead of a *comma*.
 72. 4. after *parliaments* put a *comma*.
 85. 18. after *been* put a *comma*.
 90. 10. from the bottom, after *ages*, instead of a *semicolon* put a *comma*.
 101. 5. from the bottom, put a *comma* after *presums*.
 118. 9, 10. from the bottom, after *pardon* put a *comma*.
 120. 11. after *time* put a *semicolon* instead of a *comma*.
 14. put a *colon* after *in* instead of a *period*, and begin and with a small *a*.

Page. Line.

125. 2. from the bottom, after *remarkable* put a *semicolon* instead of a *colon*.
133. 16. after *Bussi*, leave out the *comma*.
134. 13. after *court* leave out the *comma*.
166. 7. from the bottom, after *ages* put a *comma*.
173. 9. after *times* put a *comma*.
177. 2. after *writings* put a *comma*.
181. 4. from the bottom, after *admitted* leave out the *comma*.
183. 13. leave out the *comma* after *been*.
188. 16. after *kingdom* put a *comma*.
197. 12. from the bottom, after *disorders* put a *comma* instead of a *semicolon*.
198. 16. after *Pandects* leave out the *comma*.
203. 14. after *emperor* leave out the *comma*.
206. 5. after *Roncaglia* put a *comma*.
212. 5. after *confirmed* leave out the *comma*.
214. 7. from the bottom, after *reign* put a *comma*.
222. 9. from the bottom, after *history* put a *comma*.
234. 6. from the bottom, after *general* instead of a *comma* put a *semicolon*.
235. 9. after *aristocracy* leave out the *comma*.
242. 1. after *memorable* leave out the *comma*.
246. 11. after *days* put a *comma*.
277. 13. from the bottom, after *fire*, instead of a *colon* put a *comma*.
280. 8. after *grantee* leave out the *comma*.
13. after *times* put the *inverted commas*.
17. after *them* put a *comma*.
11. from the bottom, after *practices* leave out the *comma*.
291. 15. from the bottom, after *philosophy* leave out the *comma*.
294. 13. from the bottom, after *him* leave out the *comma*.
300. 11. after *villeins* put a *semicolon*.
301. 18. after *dignity* put a *comma*.
310. 12. after *prince* put a *comma* instead of a *semicolon*; and leave out the *comma* after *rather*.
15. after *but* put a *comma*.
312. 1. after *laughed* put a *comma*.
313. 6. after *for* put a *comma*.
341. 5. from the bottom, after *doberet* leave out the *comma*.
343. 5. from the bottom, leave out the *colon* after *be*, and put a *comma* in its stead.
346. 13. after *sees* leave out the *comma*.
347. 5. after *England* put a *comma*.
7. after *was* leave out the *comma*.
348. 17. after *barony* put a *comma*.

Page. Line.

351. 9. from the bottom; after *majorum* put a *femicolon* instead of a *period*, and begin *and* with a small *a*.
 8. from the bottom, after *address* leave out the *comma*.
 357. 3. after *king* put a *comma*.
 366. 11. from the bottom, after *therefore* put a *comma*.
 369. 13. after *villages* leave out the *comma*.
 370. 7. from the bottom; after *might* put a *comma*.
 371. 12. after *those* put a *comma*.
 391. last line, leave out the *commas* after *tenants* and *others*.
 394. 23. after *county-courts* put a *comma*.
 395. 13. from the bottom, after *counties* put a *comma*.
 399. 17. after *westri* put a *femicolon*.
 400. 11. after *distor* put a *colon*.
 402. 5. after *testifies* put a *comma*.
 405. 4. from the bottom, after *Brady* put a *comma*.
 414. 14. after *possidendas* put a *colon*.
 417. 4. after *thereof* leave out the *comma*.
 424. 3. after *and* put a *comma*.
 426. 13. after *parliament* put a *comma*.
 427. 16. put *quod absit* within a *parenthesis*.
 428. 13. write *plura* in *italics*.
 13. 14. after *profutura* leave out the *comma*.
 17. after *restauranda* put a *comma*.
 9. from the bottom; after *selet* put a *comma*.
 429. 15, 16. from the bottom, write *plura fuerunt et utiliter et salubriter* in *italics*.
 13. from the bottom, after *restauranda* put a *comma*.
 430. 12. after *writer* put a *comma*.
 471. 2. from the bottom, after *but* put a *comma*.
 475. 2. after *king* leave no break.
 479. 17. after *verses* put a *comma*.
 481. 15. after *chori* put a *comma* instead of the *colon*.

Further Corrections by the Author in Volume III.

36. 3. 4. from the bottom, after *promotion* leave out *to the ses of St. David's*.
 67. 13. from the bottom, instead of *there was* read *the English*.
 107. 12. from the bottom, instead of *of ourselves* read *us*; and, in the succeeding line, after *and* leave out *the*; and after *recovering* leave out *of*.
 143. 9. instead of *were honoured with that title* read *had the title of barons*.
 274. 11. after *wild bears*, leave out the whole succeeding paragraph, which ends with the words *bears*.

Page. Line.

286. 12. from the bottom, instead of *Yet that all have been brought into a more perfect and a more regular state of freedom, by re-asserting of the ancient rights, impaired by ill practices, or by the application of feudal notions to the course of law in this kingdom beyond what was authorized by the consent of the nation in parliament, cannot, I think, be denied, read Yet that all have been brought into a more perfect and regular state of freedom, by the re-asserting of ancient rights, which the application of feudal notions to the course of law in this kingdom, or ill practices, had impaired, cannot, I think, be denied.*

351. 13, 14. instead of *were honoured with that title read had the title of barons.*

392. 14. instead of *There can be nothing more different than the preservation of liberties and franchises used through the realm in elections, from the communicating of a liberty and franchise to persons not entitled to it before read There can be nothing more different from the communicating of a liberty and franchise to persons not entitled to it before, than the preservation of liberties and franchises used through the realm in elections.*

False Prints in Volume IV.

Page. Line.

19. 2. from the bottom, after *and* leave out *the*.
 47. 11. instead of *having an oath* read *having taken an oath*.
 13. instead of *be not admit* read *be would not admit*.
 49. 16. from the bottom, instead of *before* read *being*.
 103. 4. from the bottom, instead of *be cause* read *be the cause*.
 112. 16. from the bottom, instead of *it was* read *it is*.
 5. from the bottom, instead of *to read into*.
 113. 2. before *much* leave out *very*.
 120. 15. from the bottom, instead of *derived from them by the Britons* read *derived to them from the Cornish Britons*.
 127. 3. instead of *these* read *those*.
 130. 6. instead of *cases* read *causes*.
 133. 8. from the bottom, instead of *instituition* read *restitution*.
 136. last line, instead of *by sickness* insert *by a sickness*.
 139. 6. between *peace* and *which* the following words are left out, *required that those customs and dignities of the realm*.
 12. instead of *abjured* read *adjoined*.
 10. from the bottom, instead of *his* read *the*.
 149. 14. from the bottom, instead of *shall* read *will*.
 153. 13. after *but* leave out *to*.
 155. 8. from the bottom, instead of *disguised* read *disgusted*.
 161. 7. after *by* leave out *the*.
 163. 11. instead of *disapprobation of them* read *disapprobation of the several causes of them*.
 165. 7. from the bottom, instead of *band* read *bands*.
 174. 8. from the bottom, instead of *at* read *in*.
 last line, after *that* insert *band*.
 175. 8. instead of *Campania* read *Campagna*.
 182. 5. from the bottom, instead of *the justice* read *and the justice*.
 183. 3. instead of *judgements* read *judgement*.
 202. 2. after *hundred* leave out *men*.
 206. 5. from the bottom, instead of *band* read *bad*.
 222. 16. instead of *it* read *this*.
 230. 12. instead of *to do so* read *so to do*.
 233. 17. instead of *it* read *is*.
 250. 5. from the bottom, instead of *this* read *his*.

Page. Line.

303. 4. from the bottom, instead of *no* read *not*.
 331. 15. after *bad* particular read *bad a particular*.
 335. 14. instead of *let* read *led*.
 339. 17. instead of *made* read *delivered*.
 356. last line, instead of *commission* read *permission*.
 357. 9. instead of *that the* read *that be*.

In the Notes at the End of Volume IV.

375. 14. from the bottom, many words are left out. Instead of *that the vacant church* read *that the making it, in the king's chapel, by the principal clergy of the vacant church*.
 376. 7. instead of *those of* read *these of*.
 480. 2. from the bottom, after *archbishop* insert *should*.
 386. 17. from the bottom, instead of *notes* to read *notes on*.
 388. 8. instead of *he* read *Becket*.
 393. 10. before *cancro* insert *more*.
 396. 15. from the bottom, instead of *necessary* read *unnecessary*.
 406. 13. instead of *agentes* read *egentes*.
 412. 2. from the bottom, instead of *notes* to read *notes on*.

Appendix, Volume IV.

323. 5. from the bottom, instead of *crubescencia* read *crubescencia*.
 425. last line, instead of *declinatis* read *declinetis*.
 428. 3. instead of *quam* read *qua*.
 17. from the bottom, instead of *exhiberet* read *exhiberet*.
 429. 14. instead of *pulsatis* read *pulsatus*.
 439. first line, instead of *sanctitates* read *sanctitatis*.
 454. 11. from the bottom, instead of *senfuram* read *senfuram*.
 473. 4. instead of *quem* read *quæ*.
 14. instead of *sine ipse* read *sine spe*.
 518. 3. instead of *sententia* read *sententia*.
 4. after *summi* insert *pontificis*; and, in the succeeding line, instead of *causis* read *causis*.
 522. this page should have been first after the history in this volume, at the beginning of the notes.

Errors in the References, Volume IV.

387. 11. from the bottom, in the reference from the notes to the text, instead of *ibid.* read 55.
 411. 12. in the reference from the notes to the text, instead of p. 591. read p. 356.

- Page. Line.
441. in the marginal reference to N^o IV. instead of p. 121. read p. 124.
446. in the marginal reference to N^o V. instead of p. 122. read p. 125.
465. in the marginal reference to N^o VI. instead of p. 122. read 125.
473. in the marginal reference to N^o VII. instead of p. 122. read 138.
- in the marginal reference to N^o VIII. instead of p. 122. read p. 139.
478. in the marginal reference to N^o IX. instead of p. 126. read 142, 143, 144.
480. in the marginal reference to N^o X. instead of p. 140. read 152.

False Stopping which hurts the Sense.

3. 16. from the bottom, after *God* leave out the comma.
136. 9. after *grace* put a comma.
142. last line, after *king* leave out the comma.
143. 7. after *letter* put a comma.
172. 12. from the bottom, put a comma after *forces*, and leave out the comma after *could*.
180. 8. from the bottom, leave out the comma after *told*.
210. 2. from the bottom, put a comma after *conference* instead of the colon.
255. 14. put a comma after *first* instead of the semicolon.
338. 4. after *where* put a comma.
341. 12. from the bottom, after *mind* leave out the comma.
371. 12. from the bottom, after *regni* put a comma.
393. 14. from the bottom, after *Wasconia* put a comma.
404. 2. from the bottom, after *but* put a comma.
405. 2. after *and* put a comma.
455. 15. from the bottom, after *Regis* put a comma.
471. 14. after *ordinavit* put a comma instead of the colon.
518. 3. after *sententia* put a semicolon instead of the comma.

Further Corrections by the Author.

12. 8, 9. end the period at *crown*, and begin a new paragraph with the words *He alledged* instead *alleging*.
20. 4. from the bottom, instead of *put him in mind of* & *urge to him*.
21. 5. from the bottom, instead of *him* read *Becket*.
40. 4. leave out *who was*; and, in the succeeding l. leave out *all*.

Pag. Line.

49. 3. 4. from the bottom, instead of *made to him* read *returned*.
50. 6. from the bottom, instead of *it was resolved* read *they resolved*.
103. 13. after *from* leave out *the*; and, in the same line, instead of *disputed* read *disputable*.
14. instead of *in* read *to*.
16. from the bottom, instead of *relates to him* read *tells the archbishop*.
9. from the bottom, instead of *he* read *John*.
115. 3. after *Newbury* leave out *well*.
119. 16. after *subsistence* leave out *for his forces*.
143. 11, 12. from the bottom, after *cordial* leave out *support and*.
143. 2, 3. from the bottom, leave out *the jesuit who was*.
204. 8. after *publicly* leave out *that*.
17. instead of *that prelate* read *the primate*.
224. 7. instead of *of having* read *to have*.
243. 16. instead of *Johanna* read *Jane*.
296. first line, after *Becket* insert *or of his correspondents*.
318. 10. from the bottom, after *thus* insert *without cognisance of the cause*; and, in the succeeding line, leave out *without cognisance of the cause*.
356. 12. instead of *to have* read *bad*.
371. 10. from the bottom, instead of *it takes* read *they comprehend*.
8. from the bottom, instead of *does* read *do*, and end the paragraph with *beneficed clergymen*.



*The following Charter should have been inserted at
the End of the First Volume in Octavo.*

N° X.

Rymeri Fœ-
dera, tom. i.
p. 13. &
J. Brompton,
inter Decem
Scriptores,
p. 1037.

*Charta Conventionum inter Regem Stephanum,
et Henricum filium Matildæ Imperatricis, de
successione Regni Angliæ.*

STEPHANUS Rex Angliæ Archiepiscopis,
Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Justiciariis,
Vicecomitibus, Baronibus, et omnibus Fidelibus
suis Angliæ, Salutem.

Sciatis quod ego Rex Stephanus Henricum Du-
cem Normanniæ post me successorem regni Angliæ
et hæredem meum jure hæreditario constitui, et sic ei
et hæredibus suis regnum Angliæ donavi et con-
firmavi.

Dux vero, propter hunc honorem, et donationem
~~et confirmationem~~ sibi à me factam, homagium mihi
et sacramento securitatem fecit; scilicet quod fidelis
mihi erit, et vitam et honorem meum pro suo posse
custodiet per conventiones inter nos prælocutas,
quæ in hac Carta continentur. Ego etiam securi-
tatem sacramento Duci feci, quod vitam et honorem
ei pro posse meo custodiam, et sicut filium et hære-
dem meum in omnibus, in quibus potero, eum ma-
nutenebo, et custodiam contra omnes quos poterit
Willielmus autem filius meus homagium et securi-
tatem Duci Normanniæ fecit, et Dux ei concessit a
tenendum de se omnes terras, quas ego tenui ant-
quam regnum Angliæ adeptus essem, sive in Angli-
sive in Normannia, sive in aliis locis; et quicquid
cum filia Warenniæ Comitis accepit, sive in Angli-
sive in Normannia, et quicquid ad honores illi
pertinet; et de omnibus terris, villis, et burgis,
redditib

redditibus, quos Dux in dominio suo inde nunc habet, et nominatim de illis quæ pertinent ad honorem Comitis Warrenniæ, Willielmum filium meum et homines illius, qui de honore illo sunt, plenarie sayfiet, et nominatim de Castellode Belencumbre, et castro Mortui-maris; ita scilicet, quod Reginaldus de Warrennia, castrum de Belencumbre, et castrum Mortui-maris custodiet, si voluerit, et dabit inde Duci obsides: si vero noluerit, alii de ligeis hominibus Comitis Warrenniæ, quos Dux voluerit, similiter per salvos obsides et salvam custodiam eadem castra custodient.

Alia vero castra, quæ pertinent ad Comitem Moretoniæ, Dux ei reddet ad voluntatem meam, cum poterit, per salvam custodiam et per salvos obsides: Ita quod omnes obsides reddantur filio meo quiete, quando Dux Regnum Angliæ habebit.

Incrementum etiam quod ego Willielmo filio meo dedi, ipse Dux ei concessit, castra scilicet et villas de Norwico cum septingentis libratibus terræ, ita quod redditus de Norwico infra illas septingentas libratas computetur; et totum Comitatum de Northfolk, præter illa quæ pertinent ad Ecclesias et Prælatos, et Abbates, et Comites, et nominatim præter tertium denarium, unde Hugo Bigotus est Comes, (salva et reservata in omnibus regali iustitia.)

Item, ad roborandum gratiam meam et dilectionem, dedit ei Dux, et concessit omnia quæ Richerus de Aquila habebat de honore Pevenesseli. Et præter hæc castra et villas Pevenesseli et servitium Farumusi, præter castra et villas de Dovre, et quod ad honorem de Dovre pertinet, Ecclesiam de Fauresham cum pertinentiis suis Dux confirmavit, et alia aliis Ecclesiis a me data vel reddita consilio sanctæ Ecclesiæ et meo confirmabit.

Comites et Barones Ducis, qui homines mei nunquam fuerunt, pro honore, quem Domino suo feci, homagium et sacramentum mihi fecerunt, salvis
conven-

conventionibus inter me et Ducem factis; cæteri vero qui antea homagium mihi fecerant, fidelitatem mihi fecerunt, sicut Domino.

Et si Dux a præmissis recederit, omnino a servitio ejus ipsi cessarent quousque errata corrigeret; filius meus etiam, secundum consilium sanctæ Ecclesiæ, se inde contineret, si Dux a prædictis recederet.

Comites etiam et Barones mei ligium homagium Duci fecerunt, salva mea fidelitate quamdiu vixero et regnum tenuero, simili lege, quod si ego a prædictis recederem, omnino a servitio meo cessarent quousque errata corrigerem.

Cives etiam civitatum, et homines castrorum, quæ in dominio meo habeo, ex præcepto meo homagium et securitatem Duci fecerunt, salva fidelitate mea quamdiu vixero et regnum tenuero; illi autem, qui castrum Walingford custodiunt, homagium mihi fecerunt, et dederunt mihi obsides de fidelitate mihi servanda.

Ego vero de castris et murationibus meis securitatem talem Duci, consilio sanctæ Ecclesiæ, feci, ne Dux, me decedente, per hoc damnum aut impedimentum regni incurrat.

Etiam turris Londoniensis Richardo de Luceio, et mota Windesores consilio sanctæ Ecclesiæ ad custodiendum traditæ sunt: Richardus autem de Luceio juravit in manu Archiepiscopi, et in custodia filium suum obsidem dedit, quod post meum discessum castra prædicta Duci redderet.

Similiter, consilio sanctæ Ecclesiæ, Rogerus de Luceio motam de Oxoneford, et Jordanus de Bufelo firmitatem Lincolnæ custodiunt, et ligii homines Ducis sunt, et juraverunt, et obsides inde dederunt in manu Archiepiscopi, quod, si ego decederem, Duci munitiones sine impedimento redderent.

Episcopus Wintoniensis, in manu Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, coram Episcopis affidavit, quod, si
ego

ego decederem, castrum Wintoniæ et munitionem Hamptoniæ Duci redderet.

Quod si aliquis eorum, quibus munitionum custodia commissa fuerat, moreretur, aut a custodia sibi deputata recederet, consilio sanctæ Ecclesiæ a ius custos ibi statueretur, priusquam ille recederet.

Si vero aliquis de hiis, qui meas munitiones custodiunt, contumax vel rebellis extiterit, de castris scilicet, quæ ad coronam pertinent, communi consilio ego et Dux nos inde continebimus, quousque ad voluntatem utriusque nostrum cogatur satisfacere.

Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, atque Abbates de regno Angliæ, ex præcepto meo, fidelitatem sacramento Duci fecerunt.

Illi quoque, qui in regno Angliæ Episcopi deinceps fient, vel Abbates, idem facient.

Archiepiscopi vero et Episcopi, ab utraque parte, in manu ceperunt, quod, si quis nostrum a prædictis conventionibus recederet, tandem cum cum ecclesiastica iustitia coercebunt, quousque errata corrigat, et ad prædictam pactionem observandam redeat.

Pater etiam Ducis, et ejus uxor, et fratres ipsius Ducis, et omnes sui, quos ad hoc applicare poterit, hæc asscurabunt.

In negotiis autem regni ego consilio Ducis operabor.

Ego vero in toto regno Angliæ, tam in parte Ducis quam in parte mea, iusticiam exercebo regalem.

Testibus hiis omnibus.

Theobaldo Archiepiscopo.

Henrico Wintoniensi Episcopo.

Roberto Exoniensi Episcopo.

Roberto Bathoniensi Episcopo.

Golecino Salesburiensi Episcopo.

Roberto Lincolnienſi Episcopo.

Hilario

* *Herefordensi,*

Q.

Hilario Ciceſtrenſi Epifcopo.
 Willielmo Norwicenſi Epifcopo.
 Richardo London Epifcopo.
 Nigello Elyenſi Epifcopo.
 Gyleberto * Hardefordenſi Epifcopo.
 Johanne Wygornenſi Epifcopo.
 Waltero Ceſtrenſi Epifcopo.
 Waltero Roſſenſi Epifcopo.
 Galfrydo de S. Afaph Epifcopo.
 Roberto Priore Bermundſey.
 Otun Milite Templi.
 Willielmo Comite Ciceſtrenſi.
 Roberto Comite Leyceſtrenſi.
 Willielmo Comite Glouceſtrenſi.
 Raynaldo Comite Cornvalliæ.
 Baldewyno de Donyngton.
 Rogero Harfordiæ.
 Hugone Bygote.
 Patricio Salyſberienſi.
 Willielmo de Alba Maria.
 Alberico Comite.
 Richardo de Luceio.
 Willielmo Martel.
 Richardo de Humez.
 Reginaldo de Wartennia.
 Manafe Biſet.
 Johanne de Port.
 Richardo de Camavilla.
 Henrico de Eſſexe.
 Apud Weſtmonaſterium.

T H E R E.

THERE are some *false spellings* in the different parts of this edition, which the reader himself will easily correct. But, with regard to the ancient and modern orthography, I would here observe, that the former seems to me much better than the latter in many particulars. For instance, I think that in many of our words derived from the Latin, such as *candour*, *favour*, *bonour*, the *u* was inserted, and ought to be continued, to mark the true pronunciation, which has more of the *u* than of the *o*; and likewise to distinguish the English from the Latin, by a different termination. The French, for the same reasons, write *candeur*, *faveur*, *bonheur*, instead of *candor*, *favor*, *bonor*. I also think, that in the words which our language has derived immediately from the French, though remotely from the Latin, the French spelling should be followed, except with regard to the termination of them; as, for example, *entire*, which comes from the French *entier*, should not be written (as it is by some modern authors) *intire*, after the Latin word *integer*, but with an *e* at the beginning of it; and yet with a different termination, to vary it from the French, as well as from the Latin, and so make it our own. It, moreover, seems to me, that the perfect tense and the participle passive of words which end in *ess*, *as*, or *is*, such as *possess*, *express*, *pass*, *dismiss*, ought to be distinguished from the imperfect tense of those verbs, by writing *possess*, *express*, *pass*, *dismiss*, instead of *possessed*, *expressed*, *passed*, *dismissed*: for whatever makes the sense more distinct and perspicuous is useful in a language. At present our spelling, from the changes introduced within these last thirty years, is under no settled rule.—In some of the paragraphs or sentences printed in Italick characters, some words are left in Roman letters, which should have been in Italick, as the sense will shew to the reader.

On revising and considering a passage cited by me, in p. 275 of the third volume of this History, from a letter of Peter of Blois, concerning the state of London in his time, I suspect there is an error of the press or the manuscripts, in all the copies I have seen; and that instead of *quadraginta millia* we should read *quadringenta*; the former number of inhabitants being not in proportion to the bigness of the city, as described by the same writer, nor to what we know, from the testimonies of many others in that age, of its importance, dignity, and power in the kingdom. If any authority for this correction of the text can be found in the manuscripts, I should make no doubt of preferring it to the reading I have followed, and putting *four hundred thousand* instead of *forty thousand*.

F I N I S.

VOL. VI.

K k



